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YALE ORIENTAL SERIES

BABYLONIAN TEXTS

VOLUME I

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ERRATA

Page 6, li. 11, read bád-kar-ma-pad-bi-ra(?) instead of bad-te-a-ma-pad-bi-ra(?) (J). Li. 21, read ^{d}Ninâ instead of ^{d}Ninni (N).

P. 7, li. 21, read Bara-sud instead of Bara-sir (J).

P. 12, li. 17 ff., translate: "In his day, i. e., Ar-la-ga-an(or ilu), king of Guti, to ^{d}Nin-ur-ra, the mother of Umma, Nam-maḫ-ni, ruler of Umma, etc." (J). Read ^{d}Nin-ur-ra, instead of ^{d}Nin-gur-ra (N).

P. 13, li. 13, translate pa-ne-in-é "he made resplendent" (J).

P. 15, li. 19, read ŠU (or Gimil)-ur-ra instead of Šu-uru-um (J).

P. 43, li. 11, read *I-si-in* instead of *Î-si-in*.

P. 47, li. 4, read ^{d}Ninni-a me-en instead of ^{d}Ninni a-me-en (J).

P. 49, li. 21, read Marduk-nâdin-aḫḫê instead of Marduk-šâpik-aḫḫê.

P. 58, li. 34, read *lu-me-iš zer-ba-biš* "let me wipe out like grasshoppers," instead of *lu me iš-qul ba-qir* (P).

P. 62, li. 23, read Plate L instead of Plate II.

P. 69, note 2, read יעד instead of יער.

P. 75, li. 19 and 21, read *satukku* instead of *di-ka*, and *di-ku* (J).

P. 76, li. 1, read *paq-ri* instead of *paq-ri* (J).

The author is indebted for the above to: Professor Jastrow (J), Professor Prince (P), and Doctor J. B. Nies (N).

MAY

YALE ORIENTAL SERIES. BABYLONIAN TEXTS VOL. I

MISCELLANEOUS INSCRIPTIONS

IN THE

YALE BABYLONIAN COLLECTION

BY

ALBERT T. CLAY

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PREFACE.

During the last few years there has been assembled at Yale University a Babylonian Collection, numbering at the present time about eight thousand Sumerian and Akkadian inscriptions and other antiquities, belonging to all periods in Babylonian history. It includes epics, hymns, liturgies, historical, mathematical, and divination texts, exercises from temple schools, legal and business transactions, official and personal letters, administrative documents from the archives of temples, etc.

It is the purpose of the University to present this material to the Assyriological world in a series of texts, and as far as practicable and possible the interpretation of the same. The present volume is the first of the series, in which is presented some of the texts of a miscellaneous character, covering a period between four and five thousand years. There are historical texts, votive and building inscriptions, a dynastic list, date lists, a tablet containing the most ancient laws known, a fragment of the Ḫammurabi Code, and also of a boundary stone, a mortuary inscription, a syllabary, etc.

The transliteration of the Sumerian texts is given in spaced Roman type; the Akkadian or Semitic Babylonian and Assyrian in italics. In order to distinguish at a glance whether the inscriptions are written on clay or inscribed upon stone, the wedges of the cuneiform characters of the clay tablets are reproduced in outline, i. e., with open heads; while those of stone are closed. The only exception to this is the brick of Entemena, No. 5.

A few years ago in opposition to the prevailing theory that the religion and culture of the Hebrews and other Western Semites had their origin in Babylonia, the writer advanced the hypothesis in *Amurru, the Home of the Northern Semites,* as regards the Semitic elements that entered into the composition of the culture known to us as the Babylonian or Akkadian, that they were largely an importation from the region lying west of that country; that the ultimate origin of the Semites may have been in Arabia, Kurdistan or Abyssinia, as has been asserted, but that the indications are they had a long development in Amurru and Aram before they migrated into Babylonia.

It was naturally to be expected that such a far-reaching hypothesis, even though based upon a multitude of facts, would meet with opposition on the part of some scholars. This proved correct. Some have accepted the theory, while those who have not done so, have advanced little more than categorical assertions that it is baseless.

Although not a single site in Syria or Mesopotamia has been excavated which could yield the data necessary to determine the validity of the theory from an archaeological point of view, many additional facts have come to light through Babylonian researches which prompt the writer to reaffirm even more emphatically his belief in the theory. Such new data as are based upon the present texts, are referred to in the introduction.

The writer wishes here to acknowledge his indebtedness to several scholars for collating passages on tablets in the British Museum, and in the Museum of the University of Pennsylvania, for help rendered in connection with the interpretation of certain difficult passages, and other assistance, namely: Professor L. W. King, of London; Professor Arthur Ungnad, of Jena; Professor George A. Barton, of Bryn Mawr; Professor J. D. Prince, of Columbia; Professor Morris Jastrow, Jr., and Doctor Edward Chiera, of the University of Pennsylvania; Professor W. J. Hinke, of Auburn Seminary, and Professor Henry Wade Rogers, Dean of the Yale Law School. To all these scholars the writer is profoundly thankful. He also wishes to express here his debt of gratitude to Mr. Ogden H. Hammond, '93 S., for his generosity in creating the Fund which makes the publication of this volume possible, and to Mr. George Parmly Day, Treasurer of the University and President of the Yale University Press, who has so effectively coöperated in efforts made to establish the Collection.

Albert T. Clay

New Haven, Conn.

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ABBREVIATIONS.

AJSL *The American Journal of Semitic Languages.*

Amurru Clay, *Amurru the Home of the Northern Semites.*

APN Tallqvist, *Assyrian Personal Names.*

B Brünnow, *A Classified List of Cuneiform Ideographs.*

BA *Beiträge zur Assyriologie.*

Bar Barton, *The Origin and Development of Babylonian Writing; BA,* Vol. IX.

BE *Babylonian Expedition of the University of Pennsylvania.*

BRM *Babylonian Records in the Library of J. Pierpont Morgan.*

Chron King, *Chronicles concerning Early Babylonian Kings.*

CT *Cuneiform Texts of the British Museum.*

Glossar Delitzsch, *Sumerisches Glossar.*

KB *Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek.*

LC Thureau-Dangin, *Lettres et Contrats de l'epoque de la premiere dynastie babylonienne.*

LIH King, *Letters and Inscriptions of Ḫammurabi.*

MLC *Morgan Library Collection.*

OBI Hilprecht, *Old Babylonian Inscriptions.*

OLZ *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung.*

PN Clay, *Personal Names from Cuneiform Inscriptions of the Cassite Period;* Vol. I, *Yale Oriental Series, Researches.*

PSBA *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology.*

R Rawlinson, *The Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia.*

RA *Revue d'assyriologie et d'archeologie Orientale.*

RT *Recueil de Travaux relatifs a la philologie et a l'archeologie.*

SAI Meissner, *Seltene assyrische Ideogramme.*

VAB *Vorderasiatische Bibliothek.*

VS *Vorderasiatische Schriftdenkmaler.*

YBC *Yale Babylonian Collection.*

YOS *Yale Oriental Series.*

UMBS *University of Pennsylvania, The Museum, Publications of the Babylonian Section.*

ZA *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie.*

MISCELLANEOUS INSCRIPTIONS

IN THE

YALE BABYLONIAN COLLECTION

INTRODUCTION.

Nos. 1 and 2. Archaic Votive Inscriptions.

The provenance of the grey limestone bowl, on which is inscribed the archaic Text No. 1, as well as the fragment of the same material, which contains Text No. 2, is not known. The identity of the third sign in the second line of No. 1, is not recognized, unless it is a variant of tin, as suggested by Professor Barton. A provisional reading of the text is: Ur-nir-kin ^{d}Nin-x-gur mu-a-ru ^{d}Nin-gir. "Ur-nir-kin has presented to the goddess Nin-x-gur." It is not clear what is to be done with the name of the deity ^{d}Nin-gir or ^{d}Nin-nar in the last line.

No. 2 reads: ^{d}Dumu-zi-kalam-ma ḫe-šul Lugal-^{d}Ab i-ni gu-šag mu-ru. "Dumuzi-kalama verily is lord; Lugal-^{d}Ab, his canal gu-shag has constructed."

No. 3. Mace-head of the Early Period.

This archaic inscription found on a limestone mace-head, written in Sumerian, reads as follows:

^{d}Giš-bil-ga-Meš	To Gilgamesh,
Mer-ab-a-du	Mer-abadu
a-mu-na-ru	has presented it.

It is not improbable that Mer-abadu was a ruler.

This inscription paleographically considered belongs to an early period, yet in it, the Erechian ruler and hero, Gilgamesh, has already become a demigod. It is interesting to note that not only the West Semitic deity Mesh occurs as a name element in this inscription, but also Mar; confirming the writer's view that a very great antiquity must be assumed for the center in the West whence the Semites brought these deities. In *Amurru the Home of the Northern Semites,* the writer has contended that *Mash* (Μοσοχ) of Genesis 10:23, one of the sons of Aram (cf. also *Meshek* 1 Chr. 1:17, etc.), the district Mash referred to in Ashurbanipal's campaign, the mountain Mâshu of the Gilgamesh epic, and Ki-Mash^{ki} of the early inscriptions, refer to the district and the city

of Damascus; also that the old name of the city Ki-Mash^{ki} or Mash-ki ("the place of Mash"), is preserved in *Mesheq*, of Genesis 15:2;[1] and further, that the god of this district, Mash or Mesh, was carried into Babylonia in a very early period. Let it suffice to mention in this place that names of the earliest rulers, which Babylonian history has thus far preserved, as shown by the recently published list of kings, in *UMBS* IV, I, 2, offer most interesting evidence in this connection. In the first three dynasties, namely, Kesh, Erech and Ur, names compounded with the deity Mash or Mesh predominate; namely, Maš-sal-nun-na, Meš-za-mug, Meš-ki-in-ga-še-ir, Giš-bil-ga-Meš, Mes-an-ni-pa-da, and Meš-ki-ag-ṇun-na.[2]

[1] The different ways that the name Damascus is written can be divided into two groups. The first: *Ti-mas-qu* and *Sa-ra-mas-qi* (for *Ti-ra-mas-qi,* Thothmes III.) in the Egyptian inscriptions *Ti-ma-aš-gi* and *Di-maš-qa* in the Amarna letters; *Di-ma-as-qi, Di-maš-qa, Dim-maš-qa,* etc., in the Assyrian inscriptions, and דרמשק דמשק and דומשק in the Old Testament.

Ša-ra-mas-qi and דרמשק would seem to show that the name contains two elements, namely, *dar* and *Mašqi.* Haupt translated the name "settlement in a well water-region" (*ZDMG* 63, p. 528, and *AJSL* 26, p. 26). The writer translated it "fortress of *Mašqi*" (*Amurru,* p. 130). The writer also identifies the second element *Mašqi* with *Mešeq* of Genesis XV:2, which, as is well known, has been construed in many different ways. Not a few commentarians translate *ben-mešeq* "son of possession;" others, "son of acquisition;" at the same time observing that the root is extremely dubious. Again, others strike out הוא דמשק "i. e. Damascus," of the passage, as a "stupid gloss;" while still others either radically amend the text, or regard the passage as senseless. To the writer it seems highly reasonable that the passage is to be read: "a son of Mešeq—that is, Damascus—is my family, Eliezer." The words "that is Damascus" are a gloss, but not a stupid one. If this rendering is correct, Mešeq is the early name of the city. And since it is natural to expect to find the name of this very ancient city mentioned in the early inscriptions prior to 2000 B. C., the writer has proposed the identification of *Ki-Maš^{ki}* with it, which is so frequently mentioned in the early text (*Amurru,* p. 129 f.).

The second group, or the later cuneiform writings of the name of the city, are *ŠA(GAR)-i-me-ri-ŠU, GAR-ANŠU-ŠU, GAR-ANŠU-NITAḪ-ŠU, GAR-ANŠU-NITA-MEŠ-ŠU.* These have for many years been explained as "Eselstadt" (Delitzsch *AL*^{3} 17, 134), or "the city of Asses" (cf. Haupt *ZA* II, p. 321 f.). The writer has offered another conjecture as to the meaning, namely, "the city of the setting sun," *Amurru,* p. 130; but he does not regard the reading and translation final.

[2] Some scholars do not recognize the name of a deity Mesh in these names. Ungnad explains the name Gilgamesh "Der Gott *Gil* (*Gišbil* or *Giš*) möge . . ." *Gilgamesh Epos* p. 76 f. Poebel *UMBS* IV 1, pp. 115, 126, 127, etc., translates *Meš* = "hero," in these names: Meš-an-ni-pa-da "hero called by Enlil;" Meš-ki-ag-nun-na "the hero, the beloved of the highest," etc. In the name Gilgameš he says "the second element meš = 'hero' was evidently taken as an allusion to the hero character of Gilgamesh" (*ibid.* p. 127). The present writer, because of the above, sees no reason for departing

The second of the three early dynasties in the list above mentioned, is that of the city of Erech. This, as is well known, was the home of the ancient hero Gilgamesh. Here the scenes of his epic were laid; and it was here that Mesh was worshipped, especially in the early period; cf. galu ^{d}Meš sangu Unu(g)^{ki}-ga "man of the god Mesh, a priest of Erech" (*OBI* II, 87, 1:30). Note also the inscription from a seal: Nin-Unug^{ki} en ^{d}Meš ê Unug^{ki} "Nin-Uruk, priest of the god Mesh, in the temple of Erech;"[3] the names Ur-Meš dumu Lu-Unug^{ki};[4] and the name of the deity ^{d}Meš-sag-Unug^{ki} "Mesh is the head of Erech."[5] These facts make it appear perfectly reasonable to maintain that these early Erechian names are compounded with Mash or Mesh, the god of Erech; which deity, as stated above, is an importation from the West.

The writer has maintained also that Mer or Mar is another early importation from the West (*ibid.* 95 ff.). The name is compounded in that of Mer-ab-a-du, of the present early inscription. An individual bearing this same name is known from a document of the Ur dynasty,[6] but the present text is from an earlier period. In the list containing the Erechian dynasty, above referred to, a name occurs written En-Me-ir-kar. In discussing the name ^{d}NIN-IB (see under Text No. 53), the writer suggests that perhaps in En-Me-ir is to be seen the earliest form of the name of the consort of this deity, which originally was feminine. The deity Mer appears later, in the name *Anum-pî-Me-ir,* read *Il-ka-Me-ir,* of the Obelisk of Manishtu. It is a common element in names of the Ur dynasty, as in Mer-ka-gi-na, Mer-ni-mu, etc. In the contract published by Pinches (*TSBA* VIII, p. 352), it occurs in *Tukulti-Me-ir,* and in the name of the deity *I-tur-Me-ir* (cf. *LC* p. 63). In the documents of the First dynasty, it occurs in *We-ir-a-bu-šu, Warad-^{d}We-ir, Ili-i-ma-^{d}We-ir,*

from his view that Meš in this name is the name of a deity. The names under consideration are not titles or epithets assumed after they, the individuals, had become heroes; but they are personal names of kings.

In addition to the argument advanced in *Amurru,* p. 79, for the origin and meaning of the name Gilgamesh, and the comparison of the first element ^{gis}Bilga with *Belaqu, Bilaqqu,* the biblical *Balaq,* etc., attention should be called to the Pisidian name Πιλλακοας, and the names from Asia Minor compounded with Πελγ, and Παλγ; cf. Sundwall *Die einheimischen Namen der Lykier nebst einem Verzeichnisse Kleinasiatischer Namenstämme* (1913), p. 182; and Tallqvist *Assyrian Personal Names,* p. 302. Cf. also the name *A-ba-al-ga-Maš, šar Ba-ra-aḫ-sum^{ki}, RA* VIII, p. 135.

[3] Hommel *Geschichte Bab. und Ass.,* p. 300.

[4] *RA* VIII, p. 31.

[5] *CT* 25, 14:23; Reissner *Hymnen* 139:137, etc.

[6] Reissner *Tempelurkunden,* 14, II; 18.

etc. In later periods the name appears quite frequently (see *Amurru,* p. 100f.). In the explanatory lists of gods we are furnished with important readings and equivalents of this deity; see the discussion on Urta under Text No. 53.

A word in this connection concerning the identification of the city, which appears to be a chief habitat of this deity. There are frequent references in the early inscriptions to a place Mar^{ki} and a deity Nin-Mar^{ki}. E-Nin-Mar^{ki} was a district in Southern Babylonia. The city Mar has been located in that region at Tel Ede near Warka;[7] but it is now known to have been in the West. Eannadu informs us that Ma-rí (or Ma-er^{ki}) was allied with Kish and Kesh (Opis) against him (*VAB* I, 22 VI, 22). There is a statuette of an early king, . . .—Shamash, king of Ma-rí^{ki}, who was also pa-te-si-gal ^{d}Enlil (*CT* V, 2:12146). Sargon, in a recently published text, mentions Ma-rí^{ki} as being in the upper land (*UMBS* V, 34 V:4). It is said that in an unpublished Nippur tablet, Ishbi-Urra, the founder of the Isin dynasty, is called a man of Mari.[8] In the Code of Ḫammurabi, we learn that it was a city along the Euphrates, in the land of god Dagan. It would seem that *Mar^{ki}, Ma-rí^{ki}* (or *Ma-er^{ki}*), and *Ma-ra^{ki},* were different forms of the same name.

Isidore of Charax, in his account of the overland trade between the Levant and India, in the first century B. C., mentions a city on the Euphrates called "Merra, a fortified place, a walled village." This city has been identified with the modern El 'Irzi, which is also called Al Wurdi by the Arabs. The name El Baus has also been given to the city by Černik.[9] Its location is on the north side of the river opposite a point between Abu-Kemel and El-Kain. It is built upon the headland of a low range of rocky hills, reaching to the river-side. The ruins upon the bluffs are extensive, and can be seen from a great distance. They are said to be very picturesque. If Anatho of Isidore's stations, is 'Ana, and Aipolis is Hit, Merra should be at least in the vicinity of El 'Irzi, according to the length of the schoenus or parasang which he used. The fact that it was a fortified place would seem to be in favor of the identification. Be this as it may, the present writer proposes the identification of Mar, Mari (or Maer), and Mara, the ancient fortified city, well known from the

[7] Cf. Delitzsch *Paradies,* p. 223.

[8] Cf. Poebel *UMBS* IV1, p. 223. This substantiates the view of the writer that Ishbi-Urra was a Western Semite (*JAOS* 28, p. 142). Other names of the dynasty Idin-Dagan, Išme-Dagan, Ur-Urta(NIN-IB), Urra-imitti, etc., also show the same influence.

[9] Cf. *Studien Expedition,* 1872–73; Ainsworth *The Euphrates Expedition* I, p. 387 f; Peters *Nippur or Explorations on the Euphrates* I, 311–316; and Schoff *Parthian Stations by Isidore of Charax,* p. 24.

Babylonian inscriptions, with Merra on the Euphrates, mentioned by Isidore. Sargon in the inscription, mentioned above, apparently refers to the country Mari. The city Mari very probably was the chief political centre. There can be little doubt but that the name Mar-tu for the country further West, is to be identified with Mari the name for the middle Mesopotamian region.

Nos. 4 and 5. Two Inscriptions of Entemena.

The inscribed pebble and the baked brick containing new inscriptions of Entemena, apparently were found at Tello, the ancient city of Lagash. The purpose of the former is not clear, unless it is votive in character. Besides the known operations of Entemena which it mentions, it records the fact that he built Sar-ra(?)-shag-ga. Unfortunately, the second character of the name has been injured. Does it mean "park of the heart"? He also built a fortress of the plain, which he named E-igi-ila-edin-na, "the lofty guard-house of the plain;" also a fortress or ship-dock in Girsu, a part of Lagash, which he named En-zi-shag-gal. The brick refers to other operations, as given below.

Inscribed Stone of Entemena.

Col. I.	^{d}Nin-gir-zu	To Ningirsu,
	ur-sag ^{d}En-lil-ra	the warrior of Enlil,
	En-te-me-na	Entemena,
	pa-te-si	ruler
	ŠIR-LA-BUR^{ki}-gé	of Lagash,
	dumu En-an-na-tūm	the son of Enannatum,
	pa-te-si	ruler of
	ŠIR-LA-BUR^{ki}-ka-gé	Lagash,
	e-gal an-gud[1]-sur-ra	the temple of Antasurra
Col. II.	^{d}Nin-gir-zu-ra	for Ningirsu
	mu-na-dú	he built.
	guškin ku-bàr-bàr-ra	With gold and silver
	šu-mu-na-ni-tàg	he adorned it.
	Sar-[ra?]-šàg-ga mu-na-dú	Sarra?()-shagga he built.
	pú-síg-EDIN-ra	The well sig-EDIN-ra

[1] It is to be noted that the sign in the text *Decouvertes en Chaldée,* XLVI, Rev. 1:1, is also GUD, which has been read ta, and considered to be a mistake.

	mu-na-ni-si(g)-si(g)[2]	he enlarged.
	ud-ba	At that time,
Col. III.	ūr-ra-ni	his servant,
	Du-du	Dudu,
	sangu ^{d}Nin-gir-zu-ka-gé	priest of Ningirsu,
	bád-da-qa	the qa fortress
5	gú edin-na-ka	of Guedin
	mu-dú	built.
	ê-igi-ila-edin-na	E-igi-ila-edin-na
	mu mu-na-sà[3]	he named it.
	bád-te-a-má-pad-bi-ra(?)	The fortress Temen-a-ma-pad-bi-ra?
10	Gir-zu^{ki}-ka	of Girzu
Col. IV.	mu-dú	he built.
	en-zi-šàg-gal	En-zi-shag-gal
	mu mu-na-sà[3]	he named it.
	dingir-ra-ni	His god
5	^{d}DUN-x	is Dun-x;
	nam-ti(l)-la-ni-šù	for his life;
	^{d}Nin-gir-zu-ra	to Ningirsu,
	ê-ninnû-a	in E-ninnu,
	ka-šuḫ-e-na-šù-gál	prayer verily he lifted up.

Inscribed Brick of Entemena

Col. I.	^{d}Nin-gir-zu	To Ningirsu,
	ur-sag ^{d}En-lil-ra	the warrior of Enlil,
	En-te-me-na	Entemena,
	pa-te-si	the ruler
5	ŠIR-LA-BUR^{ki}	of Lagash,
	[šàg-pad]-da	chosen one of the heart
Col. II.	^{d}Ninni	of Innina,
	pa-te-si-gal	the great ruler
	^{d}Nin-gir-zu-ka-gé	of the god Ningirsu,
	e-maḫ ki-sur-ra	the great boundary-ditch
5	^{d}En-lil-li	for Enlil

[2] In *CT* IX 1, III:5, Eannatum built the well (pu-síg-EDIN-ra mu-na-ni-dú).
[3] Cf. mu-šù im-ma-sà *VAB* I, p. 114, 23:12, etc.

	^{d}Nin-gir-zu-ra-ni-ra[4]	and for his Ningirsu,
Col. III.	mu-na-ag	he made.
	En-te-me-na-gé	By Entemena,
	lugal ki-an-na-ág-gá-ni	the king who loves him,
	^{d}Nin-gir-zu-ra	for Ningirsu,
5	íd-nun-ta	from the great river,
Col. IV.	mu-bi kur-ra	mu-bi-kur-ra
	e-na-ta-ni-è	it was caused to go.
	na-rú-a	A memorial stone
	a-šag-gan ki-sur-ra	of the district boundary
5	^{d}Nin-gir-zu-ka	of Ningirsu
	mu-ki-dú[5]	he set up.
Col. V.	En-te-me-na	Entemena is
	galu e-maḫ	the one who the great ditch
	^{d}Nin-gir-su-ka	of Ningirsu
	ak-ka	made.
5	dingir-ra-ni	His god
	^{d}DUN-^{d}x	is Dun-^{d}x.

Nos. 6 and 7. Fragmentary Votive Inscriptions.

The first of the two inscriptions from fragments of alabaster objects, reads: ^{d}Nin-lil-lá Bara-sir dam Lugal-kur-si "To Ninlil, Bara-sir, the wife of Lugal-kursi . . ." The second inscription reads: . . . šabra ê Aš-ner-tum dam Sar-ru-gi-ka-ge nam-ti . . . "The magician of the temple, Ashnertum, the wife of Sargon, for (her) life . . ."

No. 8. Inscription for the Life of Ur-Ningirsu.

The only ruler of Lagash known to the writer whose name ends in Nin-gir-su, is Ur-^{d}Nin-gir-su, the son of Gudea. The restored text, dedicated for the life of the ruler, and his own life, reads as follows:

[^{d}]Ba-ú	To the goddess Bau,
[nin]-a-ni	his lady,

[4] The additional ra may be a mistake of the scribe.

[5] Mu-ki-dú may be a mistake for mu-na-dú, but it seems reasonable that ki = *ašru*, and dú = *banû* should mean "to erect."

[nam]-ti(l)	for the life
[Ur-^{d}Nin]-gir-zu	of Ur-^{d}Ningirsu,
[pa-te]-si	ruler
ŠIR-BUR-LA^{ki}-ka-šù	of Lagash,
Ur-^{d}Lugal-edin-na a-zu	Ur-Lugal-edina, the physician,
ù nam-ti(l)-la-ni-šù	also for his life,
a-mu-na-ru	he presented it.

No. 9. Votive Bowl of Galu-shagga.

The following Sumerian inscription is cut on a bowl of grey limestone. There are no reasons for believing that Galu-shagga is a royal personage.

^{d}Ba-ú	To the goddess Bau,
nin-a-ni	his mistress,
Galu-šag-ga	Galu-shagga,
nam-ti(l)-la-ni-šù	for his life,
ù nam-ti	and the life
dam-tur-na-šù	of his young bride,
a-mu-na-ru	he presented it.

No. 10. Inscription of Naram-Sin.

Within the past few years there have been found at Wanna-Sedoum several inscribed stone objects, bearing an inscription of Narâm-Sin. Three of these were sent to New Haven, and one was secured for the Louvre. With the exception of the one retained for the Yale Collection, see Plate I, all these stones were mutilated for transportation purposes. They were reduced in size, leaving intact only the inscription. It seems in each case that the inscription must have been cut alongside or partially around a hole, like the one that is intact, above referred to, for each inscription is circular in form. The text is a reproduction of one of the stones which were reduced in size. It has now found its way into the New York Public Library.

The upper face of the Yale stone is round, about 29.5 cm. in diameter. The surface is smooth and polished. The bottom of the stone is about 36 cm. in diameter; and the thickness is 14 cm. About one-quarter of the upper part of the sloping sides has been smoothed; the balance is somewhat irregular and rough. It would seem that perhaps three or four centimeters were exposed,

while the balance of the stone was sunk in the pavement, or foundation. There is a shallow hole in the centre of the stone about 8 cm. in diameter, and 0.75 cm. in depth. These stones have been regarded as gate or door-sockets, but the depression in some instances is so slight that it is difficult to understand how the post upon which the gate or door swung would remain in it, unless held in position by being fastened to the wall, just as was the upper part of the post. The holes of some of the gate-sockets which contain these shallow holes, show signs of wear from usage. The one under consideration, however, cannot be said to furnish indications of such wear; which raises the question whether each portal did not contain such a stone, even if a gate was not swung in it.

The inscription records the building of the temple of Shar-Maradda at Marad, by the *ishakku* of the city, Libet-ili by name,[1] hitherto unknown, who was the son of Narâm-Sin. The name of the temple is not given, but in the account of his restoration of it, Nebuchadnezzar, several thousand years later, see Text No. 44, calls it E-igi-kalama. Inasmuch as the stone and the cylinder both refer to the temple in Marad, and both were found at Wanna-Sedoum, there can be but little doubt that this site represents the ancient city of Marad.[2] The ruins are situated on the Euphrates almost due west of Nippur, and a little south of the west of Daghara. On the map of Kiepert *Ruinenfelder der Umgegend von Babylon,* the site is called *Wannet es Sa'dun.*

From a knowledge of the excavations at Nippur and other temples of the early period, and of the character of the inscribed objects discovered in the ruins, the theory seems reasonable that the *temennu* or foundation stone, concerning which several of the Neo-Babylonian rulers refer to when they speak of restoring ancient temples, is what we call a gate-socket. Especially does this seem likely in view of the fact that such stones laid in the foundation at each gate had a religious significance. An alternate view of course is that the actual foundation contained bricks bearing the name of the ruler who established it. While stamped bricks have not yet appeared from the illicit diggings at Marad, it is reasonable to assume that they have, or will be found. Since not only bricks taken from the pavement of the temple court at Nippur bearing the simple

[1] The writer published the translation in *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung,* 1914, col. 111. Thureau-Dangin subsequently published a translation of the inscription in the Louvre, *RA* XI, p. 89.

[2] The writer published this identification (*ibid,* col. 110), but Thureau-Dangin, on the basis of a cylinder inscription found at the same site, had anticipated it, *RA* IX, p. 84. The Narâm-Sin inscription, however, confirms the identification.

legend, "Narâm-Sin, builder of the temple of Enlil" have been found, but the actual brick-stamps which had been used by the brick maker; and since there were found at Bismya an almost identical stamp, reading, "Narâm-Sin, builder of the temple of Ishtar," and at Sippar one reading, "Narâm-Sin, builder of the temple of Shamash"[3] it is reasonable to suppose that Nebuchadnezzar discovered a foundation at Marad covered with a pavement composed of bricks containing impressions from a similar stamp, reading, "Narâm-Sin, builder of the temple of Shar-Maradda."

Na-ra-am-^{d}Sin	Narâm-Sin,
da-num	the mighty
šar	king
ki-ib-ra-tim	of the four
ar-ba-im	quarters,
šá-ir	the conqueror
10—1 KAS-LIGIR	of nine armies
ina šatti 1	in one year,
iš-tum	when
KAS-LIGIR KAS-LIGIR	those
sù-nu-ti	armies
išarru(-ar-ru)	he overcame,
ù	and
šar-rí-su-nu 3	their three kings
i-ik-mi-ma	he bound, and
maḫ-rí-iš	before
^{d}*En-lil*	Enlil
u-sa-rí-ib	brought;
in u-mi-su	in that day
Li-be-it-ì-lí	Libet-ili,
mâr-su	his son,
išakki(PA-TE-SI)	the ruler
Marad-da^{ki}	of Marad,
bît	the temple
^{d}*Šar-Marad-da*	of Shar-Maradda,
in Marad-da^{ki}	in Marad,

[3] The indications are that the same artist made the three stamps for the building operations of the king at the different sites.

	ib-ni	built.
	šá duppam	Whoever
	sù-a	this inscription
30	*u-sa-za-ku-nu*	alters,
	dŠamaš	may the god Shamash
	ù	and
	dŠar-Marad-da	Shar-Maradda
	išid-su	tear out
35	*li-zu-ḫa*	his foundation,
	ù	and
	zêra-su	exterminate
	li-il-gu-da	his seed.

Nos 11 and 12. Heptagonal Cylinders.

The Paris dealer from whom these cylinders were purchased gave Nippur as the provenance, which seems correct from the fact that a similar cone was found by Haynes, the Director of the fourth expedition to Nippur.† They contain lists of names, titles, buildings and objects. It is expected that an exhaustive study of the cylinders will shortly appear in one of the periodicals.

No. 13. A new King of Guti.

Several kings of Guti, the country north of Assyria, are known from the inscriptions: La-s[i-r]a-ab,[1] E-ir-ri-du-pi-zi-ir,[2] Si-u-um,[3] and Ti-rí-qa-a-an.[4] The fragmentary tablet giving the summary of dynasties found in the Philadelphia collection recently published[5] would seem to indicate that there were eleven kings in the dynasty of Guti, who ruled 125 years; but unfortunately

† See Clay *Light on the Old Testament from Babel*, p. 185; and Hilprecht *Trans. Dept. of Arch, U. of P.*, Vol. I, p. 52.

[1] Cf. *ZA* IV, p. 406.

[2] Also written *En-ri-da-pi-zi-ir da-num šar Gu-ti-um ù ki-ib-ra-tim ar-ba-im*, cf. Hilprecht *BE* Ser. D, V1, p. 20 f.

[3] In a date formula on a marble tablet of Lugal-anna-du, ruler of Umma: u-b a Si-u-u m l u g a l Gu-t i-u m-k a m "At that time Sium was king of Guti." *Comp. Rend.* 1911, 318 ff.

[4] Also written T i-r i q-q a-a n, see Thureau-Dangin RA IX, pp. 111–120. He apparently was the last ruler of the Guti dynasty, which was overthrown by Utu-ḫegal.

[5] Cf. Poebel UMBS V. 2, col. 12:12.

the names are wanting, with the exception of portions of two, namely *Imbi . . .*, and *Inki . . .* The inscription here published, from a small baked cone, furnishes us with another ruler of Guti, named Shamash-bâni. *UD,* without the determinative for deity, is read as if Semitic, because of the second element of the name, *ba-ni.* It should be noted that other names of Guti kings appear to be Semitic, as Erridu-pizir, and the fragmentary name beginning with Imbi.

Since Erridu-pizir uses the title "king of the four quarters," and Sium was apparently the suzerain power of Umma, when Lugal-anna-du was *ishakku* of that city, these rulers together with Tiriqan and the one here published, who was king of Guti and also *ishakku* of Umma, very probably belonged to the dynasty mentioned above. This being true, Las[ir]ab may also have belonged to the dynasty. But it is also possible that rulers contemporaneous with those of other dynasties also governed Guti. Perhaps Tid'al of the fourteenth chapter of Genesis, whom some scholars consider to be a king of Guti, was one of these. The inscription, in Sumerian, which may have been written about 3000 B. C., follows:

Šamaš-ba-ni	Shamash-bâni,
ar-la-ga dingir[6]	lofty one (?) of God,
lugal Gu-ti-um-kam[7]	king of Guti,
[d]Nin-gur-ra	to Ningurra,
ama Giš-ḪU[ki]-ra	the mother of Umma,
nam-maḫ-ni	his lofty one,
pa-te-si	the ruler of
Giš-ḪU[ki]-gé	Umma,
ê IGI + LÚ-la-ni	her old temple
mu-na-ru	he built, and
ki-bi mu-na-gi	restored to its place.

No. 14. Inscription of Galu-utu.

This ruler of Umma has been known from another clay cone (cf. *CT* 1:50, and *RT* 21, p. 125). The present text, written in Sumerian, is new.

[6] If the supposition that ar-la-ga means "lofty," as suggested to me by Prince, or perhaps something like "beloved" should prove correct, dingir may point to monotheistic tendencies.

[7] The sign appears to have the value kam. It is to be noted that it differs in form from the sign read kam by Barton *BA* IX, No. 364 Aleph.

^{d}Nin-ki-gal	To Ninkigal,
nin-ki-laḫ-u-ra	the lady of the splendid place,
Galu-^{d}Utu	Galu-Utu,
pa-te-si	the ruler
GIŠ-ḪU^{ki}-gé	of Umma,
nam-ti-la-ni-šù	for his life
ki-^{d}Ud-ud-du	Ki-^{d}Ududdu,
ki nam-tar-ri-da	the place of fate,
ê mu-na-ru	the house he built;
gab-ba	its front
a-ne-in-gi-in	he established;
mu-bi	its name
pa ne-in-é	he named.

No. 15. Mace-head of Gudea.

The provenance of the fragmentary mace-head is not known. It was about 9 cm. in diameter. The hole through it was about 1.12 cm. in diameter. The inscription reads as follows:

^{d}Gál-gir (or alim)	To the god Gal-gir,
lugal-a-ni	his lord,
nam-ti	for the life
Gu-de-a	of Gudea,
pa-te-si	the ruler of
ŠIR-BUR-LA^{ki}	Lagash,
[mu-na-ru]	[he presented it]

No. 16. Votive Inscription of Ur-Engur to the God Shara.

Inscriptions of Ur-Engur similar to the one here published with the exception of the first line, are known. This inscription, which is found on a light marble fragment, reads: "To Shâra, his lord, Ur-Engur, the mighty hero, king of Ur, king of Sumer and Accad . . ." The inscription is important in that we learn for the first time of Ur-Engur's activity for the god Shâra, in the city of Umma, where this inscription was found. The sign representing this deity's name has been known for a long time, but its reading and until recently, the habitat of the deity, could not be determined.

Arab diggers in recent years have been working at a site known as Jokha, the ancient city of Umma, where large archives of tablets, and some stone inscriptions have been found. Many of the texts from this site contain the name of the city's chief deity; but the ideogram representing the name, as stated, could not be read. The Yale Syllabary, see Text No. 53, now makes this possible. But instead of the name of Umma's deity having been unknown, it proves to have been that of a deity with whose name we have been familiar. *Šâra* is not only the reading of LAGAB with i g i-g u n u, but also of the signs LAGAB with TAK inserted (see Text 53:112), BARUN, BARA, and LUGAL. It is also written *Ša-a-ru, Šar-ri, Šar, Šar(ḪI), Šar(IM)*, etc., (see notes below).

The name of the sign, namely l a g a b-i g i g u n u-i g u b, see Text No. 53:111, leaves no doubt as to that which the scribes of the late period recognized it to be composed of. L a g a b an enclosure, with i g i-g u n u inserted, which meant something like "to be bright," was the ideogram introduced for the writing of the name of the deity at Umma. This, considered in connection with the meanings of the other ideograms used for the deity's name, makes it reasonable to infer that the god like so many other deities of Babylonia, was solar.[1]

The discovery that the name of Umma's chief deity is to be read Shâra, considered in connection with the name of Marad's deity, namely Shar-Maradda, and the wide occurrence of the name in cuneiform literature as an element in divine names, in the names of temples and personal names of all early periods,[2]

[1] This finds support in the reading *Ša-ra* for ^{d}IM, $^{d}BARA$ and $^{d}SURIM$ in *CT* 29, 46:18–20, on the obverse of which tablet, li. 21–24, $^{d}IM = Še\text{-}ru$, *Mu-ur, A-da-ad,* and *I-lu-me-ir.* In this connection the Sumerian reading M e-i r, and the Semitic *Ša-a-ru* for *MER(GIR), CT* 24, 44:153, is interesting.

[2] This deity in the Sargonic period figures prominently as an element in names, where it is written *Šá-ri, Šàr-ri, Šarru, Šár-ru* and *Šar-ra.* For the early period, cf. *Šár-ru-ba-ni, Šár-ru-ṭâb,* etc., Dhorme, *BA* VI3, 85 ff. The name of the deity seems to be found in the well known *Šar-ga-ni-Šàr-rí* and *Bi-in-ga-ni-Šàr-rí.* This appears to be evident when we compare them with such names as *I-sir-šar-rí, Šar-ru-i-sir,* and *A-bi-i-sir.* It is quite reasonable to assume, as has been done previously, that some of these names, including *Šargani-Šarri,* are West Semitic.

In the period of the Ur dynasty, many names are compounded with the god LUGAL, Š a r r a, Š a r, etc., cf. Š a r-r a-d u g-d u a, Š a-a r-k i s-s a-k u l, Š a-a r-k i š-t u r, etc., see Huber *Personennamen;* Barton *Haverford Collection;* Keiser *Cuneiform Bulla,* etc.

In Hittite-Mitannaean names, not a few are compounded with the deity's name, written *ḪI, Šar, Šar-ri, Ša-ra,* and *Šarru(LUGAL)*, cf. *Aḫ-li-ib-Šar-ri,* etc., Clay *PN,* p. 201. Cf. also the names compounded with *Šâra,* apparently from Hittite sources, collected by Sundwall *Die Einheimischen Namen der Lykier, Klio* 1913 Elftes Beiheft, p. 190 f.

is but another proof of the great influence of the West upon the religion of the people who settled in Babylonia, where in the different cities or centers of culture, the names and epithets of western solar gods, brought by the Semites and Sumerians,[3] were represented by different ideograms, which in time lost their identity and were recognized as independent deities.

No. 17. Votive Object for the Life of Dungi.

This inscription is found on a fragment of a large white marble vase, about one inch in thickness. It apparently had been dedicated to Shâra, as it was received with other inscriptions from Umma. It reads:

[^{d}Šâra]	[To Shâra],
dumu ki-ág ^{d}Ninni	the beloved son of Innina,
lugal-a-ni	his lord,
nam-[ti]	for the life of
^{d}Dun-gi	Dungi,
uš esig-ga	the great hero,
lugal Uri^{ki}-ma	the king of Ur,
lugal an-ub-da-tab-ba-ka-gé	the king of the four quarters,
Galu-^{d}Nannar	Galu-^{d}Nannar,
dumu Šu-uru-um	son of Shurum,
dam-qar-gé	the damqar
. . . . .	. . . . .

In this connection, cf. the divine name *^{d}E-a-šar-ri*, which appears among Hittite-Mitannian gods (cf. Weber *TA*, p. 1057), and in names of the Cassite period (cf. Clay *PN*, p. 148). Perhaps the name Shâra is to be found in that of a mountain, *Ša-ḫi-ša-ra*, Tiglathpileser I, IV:62. It would seem that the original habitat of *Šâra* was in the West; and that with the entrance of the Semites and the Sumerians, the worship of the god was brought into Babylonia.

Among the compounds in which *Šar* appears as an element, besides such temple names as *E-šar-ra*, *E-šar-bi*, etc., might be mentioned the following: An-šár, *CT* 24, 1:8; An-šár-gal *CT* 24, 1:6; Ki-šár *CT* 24, 1:9; Ki-šár-gal *CT* 24, 1:7; Ki-šár-šá-r-ú *CT* 25, 35ob:23; ^{d}En-Šár *CT* 24, 1:10; ^{d}Nin-Šar, *CT* 24, 10:16; ^{d}Šar-šar-ri (=*^{d}NIN-IB ša našpanti*), *CT* 25, 11:27; ^{d}Šár-šár-ra (=*^{d}NIN-IB ša na-aš-pan-ti*), *CT* 24, 40:62; ^{d}Šár-šár (=*GIR ša Su-ti-i*) *CT* 24, 42:93; Šár-ur-ra, *RA* XI, p. 83; ^{d}Šar-šar-gal (=*Marduk*) *CT* 24, 37:86; *^{d}Šar-ra-bu* (=*^{d}LUGAL-GIR-RA Mar^{ki}=Nergal*) *CT* 25, 36r:30; ^{d}En-me-šár-ra (=*Nergal*), *CT* 24, 4:26; etc.

[3] See the theory of Brünnow on the origin of the Sumerians, *ZA* 28, 377 ff.

No. 20. Gate-socket of Gimil-Sin.

The text of this inscription, belonging to the so-called king, Gimil-Sin, of the Ur dynasty, is found on two objects in the Yale Collection; one, a diorite gate-socket in a perfect state of preservation, which is here published; and the other on a slab (YBC No. 2129). There is a copy of the inscription in the New York City Library, and another, although the text is not complete, in the British Museum, which has been published, *CT* 32:6. The Yale Collection contains also another gate-socket of this king with a shorter form of the same text, a copy of which is in the British Museum (*CT* 32:6). All these inscriptions have been found obviously at the same site, which within the last four years, has been the scene of considerable activity on the part of the Arabs.

^{d}Šâra	To Shâra,
nir-gál an-na	the mighty one of heaven,
dumu ki-ág	the beloved son
^{d}Ninni	of Innina,
ad-da-ni-ir	his father,
^{d}Gimil-^{d}Sin	Gimil-Sin,
išib an-na	the priest of heaven,
UḪ-ME šu-làh-làḫ	the anointed, the bright one
^{d}En-lil	of Enlil,
^{d}Nin-lil-ka	of Ninlil,
ù dingir-gal-gal-e-ne	and of the great gods;
lugal ^{d}En-lil-li	the king, whom Enlil,
ki-ág	for the beloved
šàg-ga-na	of his heart,
in-pad	had chosen,
síb kalam-ma-šù	for the shepherd of the land,
lugal esig-ga	the mighty king,
lugal Urí^{ki}-ma	the king of Ur,
lugal an-ub-da tab-tab-ba-gé	the king of the four quarters,
ud bád Mar-tu	then the west wall
Mu-ri-iq	Muriq
Ti-id-ni-im	Tidnim
mu-rú-a	he built,
ù gír Mar-tu	and the west street

25 ma-da-ni-e[1]	Madanê
ne-in-ge-a	he restored;
Ê-šà-g-gi-pá-d-da	Eshaggipadda (the temple chosen of his heart),
ê ki-á-g-gá-ni	his beloved temple,
nam-ti(l)-la-ni-šù	for his life
30 mu-na-rú	built.

No. 26. Year-date List of Amar-Sin.

The year-dates of the reign of Amar-Sin, of the Ur dynasty, are known. The present text, from a small baked tablet, contains dates for eight of the nine years the king ruled, from which it can be inferred that the tablet was written during his reign. It was found among tablets of the Ur dynasty. The only variation in the list is in the third year date, which reads mu-dingir gu-za ^{d}En-lil-la ba-dim, instead of mu ^{gis}gu-za (maḫ) ^{d}En-lil-la ba-dim. Perhaps dingir is a mistake of the scribe for gis. The formula for the fifth year is the same as that which occurred in *OBI* No. 127, namely mu en-te-unu-gal, etc.

No. 27. Inscription of Libit-Ishtar.

This ruler has been known for some years from two fragmentary cones which contain the same Sumerian inscription, but only the first half of which has been preserved. (*CT* 21, 18 and 19.) This text is the same, but it is complete.

Following the king's reference to E-gi-par, the probable seat of the high-priest of the city of Ur, and where the *entu* votaries practiced divination, he calls himself the true lord of the nin-sun ("woman of the dwelling"), which probably is a term referring to the *entu* of E-gi-par (see Text No. 45). In this connection the title used by Enannatum, the high-priest, also of Ur, should be compared; namely, en sal-NUNUZ-zid ^{d}Nannar, "the true priest of the female NUNUZ of Nannar."

^{d}Li-bi-it-Iš-tar	Libit-Ishtar,
sib BUR-na	the humble shepherd

[1] Since the preparation of the above, Unger has published a copy of this text *ZA*, XXIX, 179 ff. He reads *Madanê* as above. This passage in *CT* 32:6 is also translated "turned back the hosts of the Amorites into their land."

Nibru^{ki}	of Nippur,
engar-zi(d)	true farmer
Uri^{ki}-ma	of Ur,
NINNI-nu-tūm-mu	who busies himself unceasingly with
Erida^{ki}-ga	Eridu,
en me-te	the distinguished lord
Unu(g)^{ki}-ga	of Erech,
lugal Ni-si-in^{ki}-na	king of Nîsin,
lugal ki-En-gi ki-Uri	king of Sumer and Accad,
šàg-gi tūm-a	desire of the heart
^{d}Ninni-gé	of Innina
ê-gi-par	of E-gi-par,
en nin-sun-zid	the true lord of the votary,
en ^{d}Nin-sar	the high priest of ^{d}Nin-sar
Uri^{ki}-ma	of Ur,
agrig-zid	the true vizier
^{d}Nin-lil-li-ga-ka	of Ninlil,
dug-nam-zid-dú	dug-nam-zid-du,
ê(?)-bur-ra-ka	the house of vessels,
a-ra-zu-ni-ku-du-ba	for A-ra-zu-ni-ku-du-ba,
dumu ki-ág-ga-ni-ir	his beloved son,
babbar nig-si-di	the righteous light
ki-En-gi ki-Uri-a	of Sumer and Accad,
i-ni-in-gar-ra-a	established;
šàg Uri^{ki}-ma-ka	in Ur
mu-na-rú	he built it.

No. 28. Sumerian Prototype of the Ḫammurabi Code.

It is now quite clear from a tablet in the Yale Babylonian Collection, here published, not only that the Code of Ḫammurabi, written a little prior to 2000 B. C., was preceded in point of time by a Sumerian code or codes, but, as has been naturally inferred, also that the Babylonian lawgiver actually based his laws upon existing codes. Although the tablet is not dated, there can be but little doubt that it belongs to an earlier period (see below).

The provenance of the tablet cannot be determined from internal evidence, though it was said to have come from Warka, the ancient city of Erech. It is

thoroughly baked and was heavily encrusted from being buried for more than four thousand years in earth impregnated with salts. Unfortunately, the obverse of the tablet, containing the first three columns, is disintegrated to such an extent that it is practically valueless. It appears as if the tablet had been lying in something that reduced the surface of this side. The reverse also has suffered considerably, especially from fractures; and it was only after the most patient efforts that it yielded to decipherment.

Beneath the fourth and fifth columns, of the side of the tablet that has been preserved, are found the numbers 37 and 35, respectively. These represent the number of lines in the column. At the close of the text, on the sixth column, is written [1]90 mu-bi "lines" which, doubtless, represent the number on both sides of the tablet. In the middle of this, the last column, is written Til-la ^{d}Nisaba ù ^{d}Ḫa-ni, which throws welcome light on a well known legal term di-til-la, frequently found as the first word of Sumerian legal decisions. The former is written, however, with the sign TI = til, while the latter is written with the sign BE = til. Di-til-la has been translated "judgement complet," "sentence definitive," "affaire reglée," etc., which meanings have been based upon the ideograms DI or sá "decision" and til-la = *gamru* "complete." As the documents are legal decisions, one would expect the phrase to mean rather "decision of law." That this is the meaning of til-la is proved by the sentence from the new code, quoted above, namely, Til-la ^{d}Nisaba ù ^{d}Ḫa-ni "law of Nisaba and Ḫani." The fact is *BE* has also the value *têrtu* "law," "revelation," "omen," cf. *ḪAR-BE = ter-tum ša ḫa-še-e,* R II, 27:46 c. In the Ḫammurabi Code, as is known, the laws *kinâtim* are communicated to the lawgiver by the god Shamash; and in the Old Testament by Jâwa.

It is interesting to note that the name of the goddess precedes that of her consort. Just what significance is to be attached to this, and especially for the early Sumerian period, cannot be discussed here. Nisaba has already been regarded as the "patroness of writing" (Thureau-Dangin *RA* VII, p. 110). Ḫani bears the title *be-lum ku-nu-uk* "lord of the seal" (Reissner *Hymnen* 50:8); and *ilu ša ^{h}dupšarrûti* "god of the scribes" (*Shurpu* II:175). We are, therefore prepared to learn from this document that Nisaba and Ḫani were "goddess and god of laws" in the ancient period.

Ḫani[1] apparently is an importation from the West, probably from an

[1] ^{d}Ḫani occurs in the name *Ur-^{d}Ḫa-ni* of the Ur dynasty, Pinches *Amherst Tablets,* 119:3, in *^{d}Ḫa-ni-ra-bi* in the First dynasty, Ranke *Personal Names,* p. 86; in the Cassite period, e. g., *Ḫa-ni-be-el-ga-aš-ši,* see Clay *PN,* p. 175; *Bir-Ḫa-a-nu,* Johns *Doomsday Book,*

Aramaean or Hittite region, which in connection with the question of the origin of this code, and the original home of the Sumerians, seems important and significant. It is unfortunate that the colophon has been injured, for it probably would have given the date, and have shown to what series the tablet belonged. The transliteration and translation of the laws follow.

FIRST LAW.

Tukundi-bi	If (a man)
dumu-sal galu zag-an-uš	jostle the daughter of a man,
gar šàg-ga-ni	(and) the possession of her interior
a-im-šub-šub	make let fall,
10 gin kù-babar ni-lal-e	he shall pay 10 shekels of silver.

SECOND LAW.

Tukundi-bi	If (a man)
dumu-sal galu ba-an-sìg	strike the daughter of a man,
gar šàg-ga-ni	(and) the possession of her interior
a-im-ru-ru	make let fall,
1/3 ma kù-babar ni-lal-e	he shall pay 1/3 of a mine of silver.

THIRD LAW.

Tukundi-bi	If (a man)
kas dug-ga-ni	in the undertaking of his mission
lul-ri-bal	get into difficulty,
má gur gu-ba-an-dé	and let the ship perish,
en-na má-e-ne	the lord of ships

VII:1, etc. Cf. also Weber in Knudtzon *Amarna,* p. 1099; Ranke *Keilschriftliches Materials,* p. 9; and Tallqvist *APN,* p. 85. ^{d}Gir is the consort of ^{d}Nisaba, in the Urra myth, *KB* VI, p. 70:33.

Annotations: 2. The word zag-uš seems to be composed of zag = *itu* "side", and uš = *emêdu* "to stand", perhaps = *ṣabâtu* "to seize." Since the writer published an extract of these laws, *OLZ* 1914, Langdon has discussed this compound, see *OLZ* 1914, Col. 417.

13. The compound lul-ri-bal seems to be composed of lul = *kûru* "distress," "ri" = "to bring," and bal = *ebêru* "to pass over." The rendition "to get into difficulty," seems to fit the context.

14. The expression gur gu-ba-a-n-dé, cf. the same word in line 71, where it is used in connection with gud, seems to mean "to let perish." Gur has the value *sakâpu* "to overthrow," u-gù-dé = *abâtu* (B 8792) "to flee," and *ḫalâqu CT* 19, 13:1ab "to be destroyed."

id-bi ba-ma-ta	shall determine its value
nam-lugal-la-a-ni-šù	(and) to his lordship
ni-ág-e	he shall pay.

FOURTH LAW.

Tukundi-bi	If (a son)
en ad-da-ni ù ama-ni	unto his father and his mother,
nu ad-da-mu	not my father,
nu ama-mu	not my mother,
ba-an-dug	say,
ê a-šàg gis-sar	from the house, field, plantation,
nitaḫ-nitaḫ nig amar-ra	servants, property, animals,
ib-ta-è-a	he shall go forth;
ù nigin-bi	and his portion,
šam-til-la-a-ni-šù	to its full amount,
in-na-ab-sum-mu	he (the father) shall give him.
ad-da-ni ù ama-ni	His father and his mother,
nu dumu-mu-meš	not our son
ba-an-na-[an]-dug	shall say to him;
ub-ê-ta bar-ra-è-a	from the neighborhood of the house he shall go.

FIFTH LAW.

Tukundi-bi	If (to a son)
ad-da-ni	his father
ù ama-ni	and his mother,
nu dumu-mu-meš	not our child (say),
[...]uru	[from the] city
[ib]-ta-è-a	he shall go forth.

16. Ma-ta, according to the context, should mean "to determine," and this is borne out by the fact that ma has the value *nabû*, and ta the value *minû* number (B 3958); cf. also ta-a-an = *minû* B 3969.

27. In *UMBS* V 102, II:4 ni-mi-en(nigin) = *e-gi-e-rum*. According to Pinches *JRAS* 1894, 830, 23 ḫab has the value *ig-rum*, see Meissner, *SAI* under 7637. In Meissner *AP* 97:17; and 98:23, ḫa-la is used for the portion in a somewhat similar sense.

31. Dumu-mu-meš, see also line 37, is a new way of writing the suffix, first person plural; cf. Mu-ul-lil-mu-mu, Langdon *SBP* 98, note 1.

SIXTH LAW.

Tukundi-bi	If (a man)
dumu-sal galu e-sír-ra	entice away the daughter of a man,
ê im-gi	(and) the home-transgressor
ad-da-ni	had not known (or consulted)
ù ama-ni	her father
nu ba-an-zu-na	and her mother,
ka-ar-eš-id	he shall declare (or acknowledge)
nam ad-ni ù ama-ni	the house violating price (or penalty),
ni-dug-e	the decision of her father and her mother;
ad-da-ni	her father
ù ama-ni	and her mother
nam-dam-ni-šù	for marriage
in-na-ab-sum-ma	shall give her to him.

SEVENTH LAW.

Tukundi-bi	If (a man)
dumu-sal galu e-gíd-da	abduct the daughter of a man,
ê im-gi	(and) the house-usurper
ad-da-ni	had known (or consulted)
ù ama-ni	her father
ba-an-zu-na	and her mother,
galu ê im-gi	the house-usurper
in-zu in-kur	was cognisant; he is guilty;

41. *BU* has the value *šalâpu* "to draw," "pull out," *šadâdu* "to draw, pull," hence "to entice," or "seduce." In the syllabary published by Thureau-Dangin *RA* 9, p. 79, I:25 *BU* = si-ir = *za-na-a-qum* = *sanâqu*. Apparently *šalâpu* and *šadâdu* also = sír.

42. E-im-gi seems to mean "home transgressor." King translated lugal im-gi "the usurping king." *Chronicles* II, p. 52; see also Zimmern *ZA* XXV, p. 199; and Weidner *OLZ* 1914, Col. 501. The latter makes GI = *takâlu*. It would seem rather to be equivalent to *ṣabâtu* or *ekêmu* "to seize." E-im-gi probably means literally "to take forcibly the house."

45. Although the second character in the line is zu, it apparently was intended for ba, as in line 58. It would seem from the syllable na that zun is the fuller form of the verb.

46. Ka-ar-eš-id perhaps composed of kar = *ekêmu* "to take" or *maša'u* "to plunder" (SAI 5721), eš = *bîtu*, and id = *idu* "compensation."

54. GID has such values as *nasâḫu* "to tear out," and *ṣabâtu* "to seize."

e dingir-ra-è(?)	by the decision of the god
in-r[a]	he shall die.

EIGHTH LAW.

Tukundi-bi	If
gud nigin-na	an ox of a fold
ur-maḫ e-kú-e	a lion devour,
gab-ri	an equivalent
nam tin-la-ni-šù	for its life
ib-ri-tug	he shall receive credit.

NINTH LAW.

Tukundi-bi	If
gud nigin-na	an ox of a fold
gud gur-gu-ba-an-dé	be let perish,
gud gud kim	ox like ox
[ni-ág-e]	[he shall give.]

The First and Second Laws are related. They refer to the accidental and intentional injury of a woman with child. These two laws are condensed into one in the Ḫammurabi Code, namely §209, which reads: "If a man strike the daughter of a man, and cause a miscarriage, he shall pay ten shekels of silver for that which is of her interior." The penalty, namely 10 shekels, is taken from the first of the new Sumerian Code, in which accidental injury is legislated upon; but the act, *im-ḫa-aṣ-ma,* "striking with intentional injury," is taken from the second in the present Code, where the act is expressed by ba-an-sig; and, as will be noticed, is more severely dealt with, the penalty being 1/3 of a mine (=20 shekels). The Ḫammurabi Code legislates also in case death results from the injury. §210 requires that the offender's daughter be put to death.

In the Sumerian Code there is no distinction as regards the station of life of the injured. In the Ḫammurabi Code provision is made not only for the

61. The final character has been injured. The traces, however, could be ê = *aṣû.* The meaning "decision of the deity" for e-dingir-ra-é, would seem to fit the context.

62. The traces appear to indicate that ra stood in the text. This would correspond to the usually found *iddak* in the Ḫammurabi Code.

64. The form of the sign nigin-na apparently is archaic. The meaning *tarbaṣim* = fold, cf. §265 of the Ḫammurabi Code, is proposed because of values like *lamû, saḫâru,* etc.

68. Ri-tug may be composed of ri = *abâlu* and tug = *rašû.*

71. On gur gu-ba-an-dé cf. má gur gu-ba-an-dé, line 14.

daughter of a man in the upper class, or a nobleman, but also for the daughter of a plebeian, and the female slave. The penalty in the case of the miscarriage of a woman in the middle station of life is, 5 shekels (§211); and 30 shekels, if death results (§212). In the case of the slave, the penalty is 2 shekels (§213); and 20 shekels, if it results in death (§214).

The Third Law covers the case of the loss of a hired boat through carelessness. The owner of the boat is to be refunded his loss. In §236, the Ḫammurabi Code deals with the loss of the boat, and in §237 the boat and cargo. The penalties are similar. In case the boat was refloated, the penalty was half its value, see §238. The Ḫammurabi Code also legislates in the case of one being responsible for a disaster, by running into another. Full reparation was the penalty, see §240.

The Fourth Law legislates with reference to the son, who renounces his sonship, receives his wages or portion, after which he leaves his home, and is thereafter legally separated from the family. The Sumerian Family Laws, which have been handed down with an Assyrian version, deals apparently with a rebellious son, for he was branded, put into fetters, and sold as a slave. The Fifth Law, though less severe, parallels these laws of unfilial conduct. The present law apparently deals with a child who is in good standing with his family, but who desires to venture upon a separate career. It is quite reasonable to assume that in some cases among an agrarian or nomadic people such a separation may even have been suggested by the patriarchial head of the family, due to limited conditions, or on account of many other reasons. In short, it does not necessarily imply unfilial conduct. The child may have a family of his own, and wished "to provide for his own house."

What the portion was, is not stated. The cuneiform sign NIGIN, used in the law meant to "hire." As a substantive, it means "hire" or "wage" (see note under line 27). The amount may have depended upon the years of service, or upon the will of the parents. In such communities it is reasonable to imagine that the portion of a son who just arrived at manhood would be less than that of one, who together with his own family of grown children, had faithfully served the paternal estate for years. The Ḫammurabi Code in providing for an adopted child whom the father desires to cut off, requires that "he give him of his goods one-third of the portion of a son, and he shall go. He shall not give to him of field, garden, or house." This would imply that the portion or share referred to differed from that which the child would receive as an inheritance.

As is well known, adoption deeds have been found, belonging to the same era, i. e., the First dynasty, which quote the Sumerian Family Laws, above referred to, literally. Also several adoption deeds, provide that in case parents wished to repudiate an adopted child, they were required to give him his portion before sending him away. To quote from one of the known adoption deeds, "If Iltani or Ninat-Sin say to Mar-Ishtar, their son, 'thou art not our son,' he shall receive his portion as the children of Iltani and Ninat-Sin, and go away."[1]

Both the Ḥammurabi Code and these deeds refer to the portion of adopted children; and only in case the foster-parents wished to repudiate them. The newly discovered Sumerian Code bearing upon the wage or portion, refers to the action taken by the child; and there is no distinction made whether he was an adopted or a real child. All these facts point to different codes among the Sumerians, the culture of whose city-principalities was probably as distinct as that of our states at the present time.

The law under consideration shows that a child who renounced his sonship, and received his portion, was legally separated by his parents. This legal banishment was a provision of the greatest importance. It was prudential in character; although it was also, doubtless, a source of relief in certain cases. The son who took this step knew that legally he had no further claim upon the estate. This provision annulled the law which provided a share in the estate for the son after the death of the father. It also protected the parents from any further demands. If the portion was squandered, the son could not legally impose upon them. It was also a wise provision in the interests of the other children. They were really party to the division which had been made. This law protected their interest in the estate which they and perhaps their own children, were helping to build up. It was a necessary accompaniment to a law that provided for a son's patrimony, and also for his securing his portion during the life time of his father.

The tenacity of custom among the peoples of Western Asia, which is known in many instances to have survived for millenniums, suggests the idea that this law throws light on the parable of the prodigal son (Luke 15:11). In accomplishing his purpose, the son in the parable, does not make a request, but rather a demand: "father give me the portion of substance that falleth to me." The word translated "portion" (μερος) is no more definite than it is in the codes and deeds, referred to above. "And he divided unto them the living, (τὸν βίον);"

[1] Meissner *Altbabylonischen Privatrecht,* 97:12 f.

after which, it is said of the son that "he gathered all together and took his journey into a far country." And in his dire extremity after he had squandered his portion, knowing that he was legally dead as a son, he decides that his lot would be better if he were one of his father's hired servants. He knew that he had no right to ask his father for more than this. Upon his return, his brother, who was the sole beneficiary, and who, as the parable shows, had been most economical in his efforts to build up the estate, naturally showed anxiety as to what his father intended doing. Whereupon, his father, in addressing him, called him τεκνον, "born child," and reminded him that all that he had was his, but, nevertheless, it was meet to rejoice over the return of his brother, who though legally dead was still his own son. This legal aspect of the parable does not seem to have been surmised by the commentators. It heightens the contrast between the father, who, on the one hand, complied with what the law permitted the son to demand; and on the other hand, the forgiving father, who rejoiced over his return, not as a legal heir, but as a real son.

The Fifth Law is paralleled by the third and fourth in the Family Laws, above referred to; which, as stated, are quoted in the adoption deeds that have been handed down. But while in substance they are the same, the present law is much briefer, and the language is quite distinct.

The Sixth Law covers the case of elopement. As we know from the Ḫammurabi Code, the Old Testament, and Oriental custom at the present time, the parents were the chief contracting parties in the marriage of their children. Section 128 of the Ḫammurabi Code reads: "If a man has taken a wife and has not executed a marriage contract, that woman is not his wife." The present Sumerian law regards the man who has taken the girl as a "home usurper." If he had not consulted the parents of the girl, a penalty or price was imposed; and after his assent to it, the girl was given to him in wedlock. Doubtless, the penalty or price was regarded as the *terḫatu* "bride price;" and formed the basis of the contract, which was then drawn up. In many such cases, the young man having little or no means, doubtless simply assented to the amount specified. Even at the present time in Syria the amount paid and given to the girl, which with a like sum from her father, forms her dowry when the contract is made, may only be a portion of what is agreed upon. The balance of the price is paid to the wife in the event of a divorce.

The Seventh Law covers the case where a man has enticed away, seduced or abducted a girl, after her parents had refused to give her to him in marriage; the penalty for which was death. This law is a natural accompaniment to the

Sixth Law, and shows the absolute mastery of parents in the possession of their children. This law is not directly paralleled by the Ḫammurabi Code or the Mosaic legislation. The nearest approach in the Ḫammurabi Code to it seems to be §130: "If a man force the wife (betrothed) of another, and who has not known a male, and who resides in her father's house, and lies in her bosom, and they take him; that man shall be put to death; the woman shall go free."

The Eighth Law dealing with the killing of a hired ox by a wild beast is paralleled by §266 of the Ḫammurabi Code: "If in a fold there is a visitation of god, or a lion kill, the shepherd shall purge himself before god, and the owner of the fold shall bear the loss of the fold." See also §244.

The Ninth Law is paralleled by one which follows, namely §267: "If a shepherd is careless and cause a loss in the fold, the shepherd who is responsible for the loss which occurred in the fold, shall make good in oxen and sheep, and pay to their owner." Compare also §245.

A word should be added concerning the antiquity of the tablet. Unfortunately, it is not dated. There are features in the script, which point to an antiquity greater than that of the Ḫammurabi Code. But it would be hazardous to base much on the palaeography of this era in this connection. The fact that the Sumerian laws are quoted so extensively in the contracts before Ḫammurabi's time, would prove that they belong to an earlier period. The absence of grades in society and the primitive form of expression, point to an earlier era. But especially striking in this connection is the condensation of the two laws into one, found in the Ḫammurabi Code, and the enlargement of the legislation in the latter, to embrace the three grades of society, that had come to be recognized.

No. 29. Inscribed Votive Object.

The fragment of a lime-stone object which contains this inscription had a square hole cut in the centre. It had a raised border, and its general appearance is not unlike a fragment published by Thureau-Dangin *RA* IX, p. 73, which also had a similar border, and apparently a square hole. The latter is said to have been discovered at Jokha. It is not known where the present text was found.

The text reads: ". . . has appointed; the gracious hero; for Nin-sun, his goddess; her E-uru-azagga, he built; for the god Zazaru . . . ; for the god Ur-nun-ta-e-a, son of Ningirsu, his E-uru-azagga he built; for the goddess Nin-Mar, the gracious lady, the qa-ab-ba he appointed."

No. 30. Inscription of Sin-iribam.

The inscription reading "one talent weight, palace of Sin-iribam", is from a fragment of a diorite stone object which apparently had been mutilated in order to reduce it in size for transportation purposes. What the shape of the weight was cannot be determined from the fragment.

Sin-iribam is doubtless the king hitherto known only from the date of a document published by Scheil *OLZ* VIII, p. 351, which is now No. 1905 in the collection of Mr. J. P. Morgan. The dynasty to which the ruler belonged, however, could not be ascertained. The new dynastic tablet, see Text No. 32, shows that Sin-iribam was the tenth ruler of Larsa. There are also several contracts in the Yale Collection dated in the reign of this king.

No. 31. Votive Cone of Warad-Sin.

The following Sumerian inscription is found encircling an unusually large terra-cotta cone, dedicated by Warad-Sin to the goddess Innina. It is also repeated on the bottom of its base. It is a petition for favor on account of the pious acts of the king; among other things is mentioned the restoration of the temple Eshusegga, which later was enlarged by his brother Rim-Sin.[1]

^{d}Ninni	To Innina,
nin ní-gal íl-lu	the exalted lady of splendor,
išib šár-ra tab-ba	priestess of the double host,
dumu-gal ^{d}En-zu-na	the eldest daughter of the god Sin,
nin-a-ni-ir	his lady,
Warad-^{d}En-zu	Warad-Sin,
nun šeg-ga Nibru^{ki}	the favorite prince of Nippur,
ú-a Uri^{ki}-ma	the adorner of the city Ur,
sag li-tar Gir-su^{ki}	the overseer of Girsu
ki ŠIR-BUR-LA^{ki}-a	and Shipurla,
E-babbar-da ní-te-gà	who is revered in Ebabbar,
lugal Arar^{ki}-ma	king of Larsa,

[1] Cf. Price, "Literary Remains of Rim-Sin", *Decennial Publications, University of Chicago,* p. 15.

Annotations: 2. Ní-gal-la = *namrirri,* cf. B 8455, etc. Delitzsch translates "schrechen", *Glossar,* p. 199. The meaning "splendor," from *namâru* "to shine," seems more appropriate.

11. On ní-te-gá(da), see Delitzsch *Glossar,* p. 199.

lugal ki-En-gi ki-Uri	king of Sumer and Accad,
dun-da àg-ga gur-gur	the beloved lord of the harvest(?),
gis-kín šu-dū-dū	who fulfills the command (or oracle),
ê dingir-ri-e-ne	who the temple of the gods
šú-bil ne-in-ag	built anew,
urudu alam gal-gal	who a colossal copper statue
mu-pád-da nam-lugal-la-ka-na	of her ladyship had made,
gal-bi ne-in-lāḫ-ga	who restored its greatness
uru šub-šub-ba-bi	to her overturned city,
bád-bi ḫu-mu-dú-a	who truly built its wall,
ma-da dagal-la-na	who, her widespread land
kalag-bi ḫa-ne-in-ku-a	greatly caused to be inhabited,
ní-tug šàg-ka gál	exalted of heart, who is
erim šu-a-ge-ge-a me-en	the warrior who turns them back, am I;
giš-túg-pi dagal	to whom a wide understanding
kin-da uru dím-me-ne	for the conduct of the city's affairs
^{d}En-ki-ga ma-an-súm-ma	Ea has given;
nam-bi-šu ^{d}Ninni nin-ga	for the sake of Innina,
ka-šag-šag-gi-da-gá	the merciful lady,
ê-gir-na	her house of splendor,
ki-dur im-rig-bu	the awe-inspiring dwelling
šàg ḫul-la-ka-ni	of her joyous heart,
igi-dû libir-ne	according to its old appearances,
šàg-bi mù-si	its interior I filled with light.
dirig ud-bi-da-ka	More than before,
E-šú-se(g)-ga-bi	her E-shu-seg-ga
ù-mu-dagal	I enlarged,
ud-dū-šù	for the future,
nam-ti(l)-mu-šù ḫu-mu-dú	for my life, I did build.
sag-bi mu-ni-íl	Its head I reared high;
ḫar-sag-dím ḫu-mu-sar	like a mountain I did raise.

17. Šu-bil apparently = *eššis;* cf. šu-gal ù mu-e-ni-dū = *rabiš šuklilma, CT* XVII, 31:34 and 35.

22. Ḫu-mu-du-a shows that the cohortative, usually written ḫa or ga (cf. lines 24, 46, and 50), is also written ḫu, apparently influenced by the vowel which follows. Cf. also ḫu-mu-du (line 41) and ḫu-mu-sar (line 43).

24. Lig-ne, perhaps lig-bí, usually lig-bi = *danniš.*

25. Can gál be the relative for galu?

	nig ag-ag-da-ne-e-šù	Upon these brilliant doings
45	^{d}Ninni nin-mu	may Innina, my lady,
	ḫa-ma-igi-dím	look.
	ud gíd-du mu-ḫe-gál-la	An abundant length of days,
	aš-te suḫuš-gi-na	a well-established throne,
	sìg-uku gam-gam	a putting down of uprisings,
50	sag-e-eš ḫa-ma-ni-in-pa-tùk-du	may she as a gift bestow upon me.

No. 32. The Larsa Dynastic List.

The discovery of the Larsa dynastic tablet at the ruins of Senkereh, the ancient city of Larsa, makes it possible to determine a number of very important historical and chronological questions in early Babylonian history, which have been discussed frequently by scholars during the past few years.

Seven kings have heretofore been known as rulers of Larsa, namely Gungunu, Abisarê, Sumu-ilu, Nûr-Immer, Sin-idinnam, Warad-Sin, and Rim-Sin. The name of another king was known from a single dated document, namely, Sin-iribam, but not the dynasty to which he belonged. The new list from Larsa gives fourteen rulers, followed by Ḫammurabi and Sin-muballiṭ. *I-lu-ni,* recently introduced as a new king of Larsa (cf. Scheil *OLZ* 1914, col. 246, and Poebel, *UMBS* IV, p. 96), for which there does not seem to be proof, as well as *Nu-úr-Šamaš* (Poebel *ibid*) are not found in the list.

The tablet contained the same inscription on both sides, but with the exception of a few characters on the reverse, which are most important in restoring some on the obverse, that side of the tablet is broken away. The numbers on the obverse also have suffered, yet with the help of the total number of years, and what remains on the reverse, practically the entire text can be restored. Following is a transliteration based on both sides of the tablet:

21 mu Na-ap-la-nu-um
28 mu E-mi-ṣu
35 mu Sa-mu-um
9 mu Za-ba-aia

44. Nig-ag = *epištu;* cf. nig-ag-mu-šù "upon my doing," *CT* I, 46:12.

46. Igi-dìm apparently is equivalent to *naṭâlu* "to look".

48. Aš-te is here a substitute for giš gu-za, as also in an inscription of Warad-Sin *VAB* I, p. 214d:17. Aš or dili has the value *zikaru, gitmalu,* etc. Te = *emêdu, šakânu,* etc.

49. Sìg-uku apparently means *nabalkattu* "rebellion."

27 mu Gu-un-gu-nu-um
11 mu A-bi-sa-ri-e
29 mu Su-mu-i-lu
16 mu Nu-ur-^{d}Immer
7(?) mu ^{d}Sin-i-din-nam
2 mu ^{d}Sin-i-ri-ba-am
6(?) mu ^{d}Sin-i-qi-ša-am
1 mu Ṣili(li)-^{d}Immer
12 mu Warad-^{d}Sin
61 mu ^{d}Ri-im-^{d}Sin
12(?) mu ^{d}Ḫa-am-mu-ra-bi
12 mu Sa-am-su-i-lu-na lugal
289 mu-bi

The new Larsa list does not begin with Gungunu, who has hitherto been supposed to have been the founder of the dynasty, but with Naplanum, who ruled 21 years. *Sa-mu-um* is probably foreign, as the rest of the first five names seem to be, though this and some of the others might be explained as Semitic. If *Samum* is not foreign, it may be an abbreviation for a name like *Sa-mu-la-ilu,* usually written *Sumu-la-ilu* (cf. Ranke *PN* p. 141).

Attention should be called to what appears to the writer to be a superfluous line in the second character of the text, in the fourth name, *Za-ba-aia.* It is not impossible that *Za-ba-aia* is a shorter form of *Zambia* or *Zanbia* (=*Zabbia*=*Zabia*), the name which a ruler bears belonging to the Nîsin dynasty.

Gungunu, the fifth ruler, is known from two bricks and a cone found at Mugheir (*VAB* I, p. 206). Scheil has also published a date, "The year in which Gungunu died." (*RT* XXI, 125.)

Abi-sarê, the sixth king, is represented by several tablets from Oheimir (Scheil, *RT* 34, p. 6); and in *CT* 33:50. Johns published the name of a king from a tablet which passed through his hands (a very questionable proceeding), as *A-bi-sa-ri(tal)-lu* (*PSBA* 1910, p. 274). This, doubtless, is the same ruler as Abi-sarê. In the British Museum text, Abi-sarê uses the title "King of Ur, King of Larsa." His name would seem to imply that he was a Semite. If the synchronistic table given below is correct, the Semites at Babylon founded their dynasty, and perhaps Semites also at Larsa overthrew the foreign rule shortly after Bur-Sin came to the throne of Nîsin. That his reign was weak may be judged from the comparatively small number of documents found

belonging to his time, and also from the succession of short reigns which followed.

The seventh ruler, *Su-mu-ilu,* is known from a votive inscription of a steatite figure of a dog, which Abba-dugga, the son of a certain Uru-kagina, dedicated to the goddess Nin-Nîsin for the life of Sumu-ilu, King of Ur (cf. *RA* VI, 69 f.). It is interesting to note that the place assigned this ruler by Thureau-Dangin among those rulers that were known, is correct (cf. *VAB* I, p. 209).

A king *Zu-ma-ilu,* whose name occurs in an oath, *CT* VI, 36a:16, has been identified with Sumu-la-ilu of the first dynasty of Babylon, who, it has been claimed, ruled over Sippar, because his name is identified with that of Shamash in the oath, and because the name of Sumu-la-ilu is also found with Shamash in another oath formula (*CT* 6, 30a:28).[1] Inasmuch as there was a king of Larsa named Sumu-ilu, who reigned about the same time, Zuma-ilu, who is identified with the god Shamash in the oath formula, more probably is to be regarded as identical with the Larsa king, and especially as many contracts of the period came from Tel Sifr, near Larsa. Naturally, the question whether Sumu-la-ilu of Babylon, and Sumu-ilu of Larsa are the same, can be raised; but there are no indications at the present that such was the case, except that their reigns overlap. In fact, it does not seem possible that they were identical. Moreover, the date formulæ of the ruler of Babylon give no intimation that he had any connections with Southern Babylonia.

The name of Nûr-^{d}Immer, the eighth king of Larsa, was known from a short text, and a published date (*VAB* I, pp. 208 and 236), as well as from several unpublished dated tablets in the Yale Collection and one in the Morgan Collection (No. 1629). The name has been read Nûr-Adad and Nûr-Immer. It had been shown that it is probable that ^{d}*IM* was read Immer, in referring to a certain individual's name, *Na-ra-am-*^{d}*IM,* which is also written in a shortened form *Im-me-rum, I-im-me-ir,* and *I-im-me-rum.*[2] This not only showed that ^{d}*IM* can be read Immer, but it made it reasonable to infer that Immerum, known from several contracts as a ruler who was a contemporary of Suma-la-ilu,[3] is also a shortened name. This was followed by the conjecture that Immerum

[1] Cf. Daiches *Altbabylonische Rechtsurkunden,* p. 23, note 1. Ranke did not include the text of Zumu-ilu with those of Sumu-la-ilu, cf. his *Personal Names,* p. 42, note 1.

[2] Cf. Peiser, *KB* IV, p. 24 f, also Thureau-Dangin *VAB* I, p. 296, note 2.

[3] See the tablet published by Pinches *CT* IV, 3a:17f, which reads *niš* ^{d}*Šamaš ù Im-me-ru-um niš* ^{d}*Marduk ù Sumu-la-ilu.*

is Nûr-Immer; but for which no proof was adduced.[4] The new list, as it is tabulated with the First Dynasty, makes the identification highly probable, for the time of Nûr-Immer synchronizes with Immerum the contemporary of Sumu-la-ilu.

The name Sin-iribam, who follows the well known Sin-idinam, is found in the date of a tablet, now in Mr. Morgan's library (No. 1283), which had been published by Scheil (*OLZ* 1905, col. 351); but there was no way of determining to which dynasty the ruler belonged. A stone fragment, perhaps a portion of a duck weight, inscribed with the name of this king, see Text No. 29, as well as a tablet dated in his reign, are in the Yale Babylonian Collection. The new list of Kings shows that he was the tenth ruler of Larsa, and reigned two years.

Sin-iqîsham, the eleventh king of Larsa, ruled five or six years and perhaps a part of a year as suggested by traces to be seen on the obverse of the tablet. This ruler is also represented by several dated tablets in the Yale Collection. The name of the king who followed Urra-imitti in the Ur-Nîsin[5] dynastic list, and who ruled six months, was read by Hilprecht *Sin*(?) . . . . (*BE* XX 1, p. 46). His copy of the tablet shows *EN* at the beginning, and *ša* or *ta* at the end of the name. Poebel later claimed that he could see the sign *ki* preceding *ša,* and argued that the name was Sin-iqîsham, who is represented by a tablet from Nippur, which is dated, "in the year which Sin-ikîsha made an image of gold and silver for Shamash" (*OLZ* 1907, col. 468 ff.). While it is not impossible that the name is that of Sin-iqîsham, there is not a little uncertainty concerning the conjecture, even though it has been adopted. Ungnad kindly examined the dynastic tablet and informed the writer that it is uncertain whether the last sign is *ša, ta* or *it,* and that there are no certain traces of *ki,* or anything else before this character, thus agreeing with Hilprecht's copy. The fact that the tenth king of Nîsin ruled between Urra-imitti and Ellil-bâni, who also held Nippur, makes the restoration appear reasonable, but other considerations seem to indicate that it would be still more reasonable to regard the Nippur tablets of Sin-iqîsham as belonging to a king of the Larsa dynasty.

Four tablets dated in the reign of Sin-iqîsham in the Nippur Collection have just been published.[6] One date is fragmentary, but the others read: a) "The year in which Sin-iqîsham, the king, made a statue of gold and silver;" b) "The year in which Sin-iqîsham, the king, made a statue of gold and silver

[4] Cf. Hilprecht *BE* XX 1, p. 56a.
[5] On the reading Nîsin instead of Isin, see p. 42 f.
[6] Chiera *UMBS* VIII 1, p. 69.

of Shamash;" c) "The year in which Sin-iqîsham, the king, adorned a . . . . statue at Nippur, a statue of Shamash and Shunirda with silver and gold, and brought into the temple of Shamash." Chiera (*ibid,* p. 30) in following Poebel, regards all these dates as belonging to the six months of the tenth Nîsin ruler, but admits, in view of the information given him that Sin-iqîsham is found in the new Larsa list, that the tablets may belong to that dynasty. It should be noted that Poebel in his work which appeared about the same time, omits all his proposed readings (*UMBS* IV, p. 94).

The tenth ruler, according to the Ur-Nîsan list, ruled six months. Since his predecessor, Urra-imitti, crowned Ellil-bâni as his successor, which we learn from an early chronicle,[7] the tenth king, who had usurped the throne, and for six brief months kept Ellil-bâni from reigning, doubtless, was occupied with other things during that short time besides making a statue at Nippur, and erecting one to Shamash and Shunirda in the temple of Shamash, presumably at Larsa, a city considerably south of Nîsin, and ruled over by a king of that city (i. e., Larsa). If the claim should prove correct, he accomplished considerable as a usurper in his brief reign. Moreover, as there was a Sin-iqîsham of Larsa who ruled later, unless there are two kings by the same name, that of the tenth ruler of Nîsin must be restored differently. The fact that dated tablets in the reign of Sin-iqîsham were found at Nippur, would suggest that perhaps he had inherited the title "king of Sumer and Accad," from the time of Sin-idinnam. Since Sin-mâgir of Nîsin uses it,[8] Larsa must have lost the title either during the reign of Sin-iqîsham, or during the reign of Ṣili-Immer.

The twelfth ruler of Larsa, Ṣili-Immer, hitherto unknown, who ruled one year, is represented by several dated tablets in the Yale Babylonian Collection from Larsa and Ur.

The new dynastic list cannot leave any further doubt, even in the minds of those scholars who formerly argued for the identity of the two kings Warad-Sin and Rim-Sin, that they are not identical. The former ruled twelve years, and the latter sixty-one. The figure one, i. e., *1 šušši* or 60, is clearly seen on the reverse of the tablet, and partially on the obverse. The additional wedge standing for the odd number is clearly seen on the obverse. The reading "61," is confirmed by the total.

Just what is the significance of the horizontal stroke through the two perpendicular wedges in the number before Ḫammurabi's name, is not clear, unless

[7] King *Chronicles* II, p. 12.
[8] Weissbach *Babylonische Miscellen,* p. 1.

perhaps to indicate a fraction of a year. In consequence of this, a question mark has been placed in connection with the twelve years in the transliteration; but that number corresponds to the twelve years between his thirty-first year, when he conquered Rim-Sin, and his forty-three years. Perhaps it is intended for twelve and a half years. It is interesting to note in this connection that the year-date list (see Text No. 32), which was also found among Larsa tablets, begins with the thirtieth year of Ḫammurabi, which was the time he defeated the army of Emutbaal.

Twelve years are given Samsu-iluna in the dynastic list, and following his name, lugal is written. As he ruled over Babylon thirty-eight years, does this mean that the tablet was written in his twelfth year; or does it mean, what seems more probable, that his rule over Larsa ceased after that time?

The year date for his eleventh year records his destroying the walls of Ur and Erech. The date for his twelfth year reads: "the year when Samsu-iluna, king, after all(?) the lands had revolted." In the fifteenth year, he restored the walls of Nîsin; in the sixteenth, Sippar; and in the seventeenth, Emutbaal. No references to the southern cities Ur, Erech, and Larsa are found after the eleventh year. It is known that the dating of contracts at Tel-Sifr, a town not far from Larsa, only extend to the tenth year of Samsu-iluna. The many contracts in the Yale Collection from Larsa, belonging to this era, are confined to the first twelve years of his reign. These facts make it reasonable to maintain that after destroying the walls of Ur and Erech in his eleventh year, Samsu-iluna lost control of the southern cities in or about the twelfth year of his reign. It is possible that the reign of Iluma-ilu over this district began at this time; for as King has shown, this ruler of the Sea Land dynasty was a contemporary (*Chron.* I, p. 70). It is to be regretted that it cannot be determined at present in what part of his reign, Iluma-ilu took the southern cities from Babylon in order to show exactly how this dynasty overlapped that of Babylon. It is not improbable that the dynasty began when Samsu-iluna lost the region in his twelfth year.

The questions as to whether the Nîsin dynasty came to a close in the seventeenth year of Sin-muballiṭ or later; and whether the Nîsin and Babylon dynasties overlapped, now receive new light. King originally held the theory that they did overlap.[9] Others followed, accepting the theory, namely Hilprecht (*BE* XX 1, p. 49, n. 5), Ranke (*OLZ* 1907, col. 109 ff.), Ungnad (*OLZ*

[9] *LIH* p. 228, note 39; and *Chronicles* I, p. 168.

1908, col. 66), Meyer (*Gesch. d. Altertums* I, 2 pp. 345, 556), etc. Thureau-Dangin then maintained that Sin-muballiṭ took Nîsin from a Larsa king in his seventeenth year (*OLZ* 1907, col. 256 f.). King a little later abandoned his theory. (*Sumer and Accad,* 313 ff.) Poebel, on the basis of a formula, said to be for the twentieth year of Sin-muballiṭ, which reads, "When the army of Larsa was smitten in arms," held that Rim-Sin's overthrow of Nîsin took place in the nineteenth year of Sin-muballiṭ (*BE* VI, p. 114). More recently Thureau-Dangin (*JA* 1909, p. 337, and *RA* VIII, 81 f.), published a date formula of Rim-Sin, which says that the king "by the great might of Anu, Enlil and Ea, captured the city of Dâmiq-ilishu, and the people of Nîsin, as many as there were." This date prompted him to conclude that when Sin-muballiṭ took Nîsin, he allowed the king Dâmiq-ilishu to keep the throne as his vassal, but that it was overthrown in the first or second year of Ḫammurabi by Rim-Sin.

Another view has more recently been advanced by Langdon (*Babyloniaca* 1914, p. 41), who sees in the date formula for the seventh year of Ḫammurabi, the overthrow of Nîsin by Rim-Sin. And finally, Chiera, in a review of the question (*UMBS* VIII 1, 24 ff.), concludes, in order to make the "30 years" of the Nîsin era precede the tenth of Samsu-iluna, that at a time close to the twenty-third year of Ḫammurabi, Rim-Sin took Nîsin from Dâmiq-ilishu; and the dynasty of that city was ended. In support of his theory he presents a study of the personal names, from which he concludes that Dâmiq-ilishu and Samsu-iluna were not separated by a long interval of time (see below).

In connection with the theory of Chiera attention need only be called to the fact, as he himself notes (*ibid,* p. 25 and 32), that the tablets of Ḫammurabi's reign found at Nippur, begin with his thirty-first year; and also that he has published Nippur tablets from the first until the twenty-ninth year of Rim-Sin's Nîsin-era. Both kings scarcely ruled over or were recognized at Nippur at the same time, i. e., after the thirty-first year of Ḫammurabi. The same is true in connection with the theory proposed by Langdon, who begins the era with Ḫammurabi's seventh year. The Tel Sifr texts show that Ḫammurabi held this city from the thirty-first year. Moreover, the large collection of Larsa texts in the Yale Collection shows that the city was held by Rim-Sin through at least 31 years (see below) of the Nîsin era, and by Ḫammurabi from the time he conquered Elam and Rim-Sin. These facts seem to show that the Nîsin era preceded Ḫammurabi's 31st year.

The new dynastic tablet which gives a list of Larsa rulers, credits Rim-Sin with 61 years, who is followed by Ḫammurabi with 12 years, and Samsu-iluna

with 12 years. In other words, this long period of Rim-Sin preceded Ḫammurabi's thirty-first year. This, however, does not appear so reasonably certain when all the facts are taken into consideration.

In this connection it seems proper to discuss briefly the bearing that the new dynastic tablet has upon the question as to whether Rim-Sin continued to live until the tenth year of Samsu-iluna. King published a fragmentary chronicle, which he interpreted as meaning that the forces of Elam under Rim-Sin's leadership were probably again active in the reign of Samsu-iluna, and that it probably refers to the death of the latter.[10] Subsequently, Ungnad discussed two tablets from Warka, that had been published by Strassmaier, which recorded the same transaction, giving the name of the same contracting parties, and dated in the same month; but the one in the reign of Rim-Sin; and the other, in the reign of Samsu-iluna. (*ZA* 23, p. 13.) These facts prompted Ungnad to assign the date of the former to the ninth year of Samsu-iluna, and that of the latter to the tenth year of Samsu-iluna, which date is known; and to assume that Rim-Sin was defeated and killed at that time. Thureau-Dangin has endeavored to complete Rim-Sin's date from an unpublished document, and reads: "The year in which the goddess Nin-maḫ in the temple of Kish, the temple of the foundation of heaven and earth, exalted Rim-Sin, the king to the kingdom of the whole land, and in which he did not smite back the wicked enemies in their countries." (*JA* 1909, 335 f.) He maintains that the two documents were written on the same day, the one in the reign of the king who was defeated, and the other in that of the conqueror, not knowing who would triumph.

It, of course, is not impossible that Rim-Sin again appeared on the scene in the tenth year of Samsu-iluna, and that the two contracts were drawn up on the same day under such peculiar circumstances, as has been suggested. King has kindly examined the tablets, and has informed the writer that the amounts in line 12 read, in the one (No. 22), 2 1/3 shekels (on the case and on the tablet); and in the other (No. 63), 4 2/3 shekels 15 *še* (only on the tablet as the case was broken); and that he has no doubt at all that both tablets were written by the same scribe. If the date in question synchronizes with Samsu-iluna's 10th year, it is not impossible that Rim-Sin, whom Ḫammurabi conquered in his

[10] Cf. *Chronicles* I, p. 69; II, pp. 18, 121 ff., which reads: line 13 "[Samsu-il]una, king of Babylon, the son of Ḫammurabi, the king. 14 (. . . . . .) and 15 (. . . . . .) Rim-Sin unto (. . . . . .) marched. 16 (. . . . . .) his hand conquered (17 (. . . . . .) him alive in the palace (. . . . . .)." See also Winckler *OLZ* 1907, col. 586.

31st year, became active again; and as the date implies, had himself formally declared king of the whole land in the temple of Kesh, which city apparently was in the South country. Prior to the settlement of the issue, this would naturally have caused considerable uncertainty in values. If Rim-Sin should triumph, the price of the property would be only half the amount that it would be if the rule of Samsu-iluna over Larsa was uninterrupted. The fuller date of the latter's tenth year shows that the king did defeat the army of Erech that year; and perhaps, as the fragmentary chronicle, above referred to, indicates, Rim-Sin lost his life. If this should prove correct, and the new dynastic tablet is to be literally understood, Rim-Sin was at a very advanced age—in fact, not far from a century old; for the tenth year of Samsu-iluna was 83 years after he, Rim-Sin, began to reign. That is, if the new list giving 61 years is correct, and we must add to this number the twelve years during which Ḫammurabi ruled over Larsa, and the ten or twelve of Samsu-iluna, we have in all 83 years, or more; to which, of course, must be added also the years before he became king. While it is not impossible that the people of Southern Babylonia, about the tenth year of Samsu-iluna, took steps to throw off the yoke of Babylon, and again proclaimed Rim-Sin king, it does not seem very probable that he was the aged man the above figures would make him. Moreover, other facts which follow seem to make it still less so.

There are known at present from fifteen to eighteen year-dates of Rim-Sin besides those of the Nîsin era. Scheil (*RT* XXI, 125) published a tablet dated in the 30th year of the era. Two tablets in the Yale Collection (*YBC* Nos. 4465 and 5552), are dated in the 31st year after the fall of Nîsin. Then also several tablets in the Yale Collection show that the overthrow of Nîsin took place about the eighteenth year of the reign of Rim-Sin.[11] Following the usual date of the second year of the era on two tablets, Nos. 4229 and 4270, is written šag mu ki 18^{kan}; and on one tablet *YBC* No. 4384, is added šag mu-ki 18^{kan} in-ag. The last character read ag is not quite clear, which is due to the tablet having been cased, and the corner of the tablet, on which it appears, having been pressed slightly out of shape. Two other tablets, *YBC* Nos. 4307 and 4481, which also contain the date for the second year, reads: mu ki 2 dim(?) mu ki 19 giš-ku m[aḫ] An ^{d}En-lil ^{d}Ea, etc. "Year 2 like year 19, in which by the great weapon of Anu, Enlil and Ea," etc. These tablets would seem to

[11] It is expected that these tablets will appear in a volume of texts in this series dated in the reign of Rim-Sin, by Professor Elihu Grant of Smith College, a member of the Yale Babylonian Seminar.

point to the fact that the Nîsin era began with the eighteenth year of the reign, or that the second year of the era was the nineteenth year of the reign.

If Rim-Sin ruled 61 years before Ḫammurabi conquered him, in the light of the above we should expect to find twelve additional dates in the so-called Nîsin era; but there are no indications of these at present. Moreover, it does seem as if the 61 years are to be understood otherwise than preceding the 31st of Ḫammurabi, but just how, is the question.

If we assume that the 61 years include the 12 years' rule of Larsa by Ḫammurabi and the ten of Samsu-iluna, then we would have to conclude that at Tel Sifr, Nippur, and Larsa, after Ḫammurabi had conquered Rim-Sin, he allowed the use of Rim-Sin's dates celebrating the overthrow of Nîsin, as well as his own. This, as mentioned above, does not appear to the writer to be probable.

Another, and perhaps a more reasonable supposition is, that the 61 years include the 12 or 12½ years of Ḫammurabi, but not those of Samsu-iluna. This would require the assumption that although conquered, Ḫammurabi permitted Rim-Sin to live and perhaps to occupy some position of honor. The letters of Ḫammurabi to Sin-idinnam of Larsa leave no room for the supposition that Rim-Sin continued to rule as a vassal king. And, of course, if the assumption is made that there was a mistake in the new dynastic tablet, and that the number should be 71 instead of 61, the ten years of Samsu-iluna would also be thus included.

Since 31 years intervened between Ḫammurabi's accession to the throne and his overthrow of Rim-Sin, and on account of other reasons, it seems natural to place the Nîsin era of 31 years at that time, and advance the theory that Sin-muballiṭ fought a battle with Larsa in his 20th year, which was regarded as a victory; that is, if the date reading: "the year when Larsa was smitten in arms," belongs to that year, as has been proposed. Then in the latter part of the same year, in another conflict with Larsa, Sin-muballiṭ perhaps lost his life, when Nîsin was captured by Rim-Sin; and Ḫammurabi, doubtless as a vassal (see below), came to the throne. In other words, if this should prove correct, the overthrow of Nîsin synchronizes with the accession of Ḫammurabi. As stated above on independent grounds, one scholar has proposed the 19th year of Sin-muballiṭ, and another the first or second year of Ḫammurabi, for the fall of Nîsin. In the light of all the data, even that presented by Chiera[12]

[12] Chiera is quite correct in maintaining that the testimony of the personal names of the period cannot be overlooked, but in making the beginning of the Nîsin era 23

from a study of personal names, it seems reasonable to hold that this event took place at the time Ḫammurabi began to rule.

If the close of Dâmiq-ilishu's reign of 23 years, coincides with the beginning of the Nîsin era, the exact overlapping of the Nîsin and Larsa dynasties can be definitely determined. But if the year-date of Rim-Sin, recording the overthrow of Nîsin, is to be interpreted with Thureau-Dangin, as meaning that only the city was taken, and that Dâmiq-ilishu was allowed to reign as a vassal, then it is impossible to determine how the Nîsin and Larsa dynasties overlapped. The date in question reads: "The year in which, with the sublime power of Anu, Enlil, and Ea, the shepherd Rim-Sin took the city of Dâmiq-ilishu, the people and the possessions." If, as stated, the king was only reduced to vassalage, and the 23 years he ruled according to the Ur-Nîsin list, had not been completed at this time, it is impossible to determine the synchronism of the two dynasties with our present data. The table given below, which is based on the new Larsa list, and the Ur-Nîsin list, is constructed on the supposition that Dâmiq-ilishu's reign of 23 years ends with the fall of Nîsin.

The synchronisms, as seen in the table, show how it was possible for Dâmiq-ilishu to have used the title "King of Shumer and Accad", as found in a

years earlier than he does, they do not seem to offer any serious difficulties. If the restoration of Ib-[ku-ša] sutug ^{d}Nin-lil-lá 81:2, of his texts, is correct, although not a few bear this title, it simply means that this man was in office 31 years (of Ḫammurabi's reign) + x (of Dâmiq-ilishu). The identification of *I-din-^{d}IM* in the couplet, *Ib(?)-ni(?)-IM,* son of *I-din-^{d}IM,* of Rim-Sin's time, with *I-din-^{d}IM, son of ^{d}IM-gir-ra* of Samsu-iluna's thirteenth year, is exceedingly precarious, not only because the reading is uncertain, but also because there may have been two dozen persons bearing that name at that time in Nippur. But even if they are the same, we would only have the case of a father being referred to x years (of Rim-Sin) + 12 years (of Ḫammurabi) + 13 years (of Samsu-iluna) = 25 + x after the son had acted as a witness, which would not be remarkable. That ^{d}*IM-ra-bi* is mentioned in the reign of Dâmiq-ilishu, and his sons *Mâri-irṣitim* and *Mutum-ilu* in the eleventh year of Samsu-iluna, simply means that the sons are referred to x years (of Dâmiq-ilisu) + 43 (of Ḫammurabi) + 11 (of Samsu-iluna) = 54 + x years later than the father. A certain *U-du-du* is referred to in the time of Dâmiq-ilishu, and one *Ib-ga-tum,* son of *U-du-du,* in the eleventh year of Samsu-iluna. This means, if *U-du-du* represents the same man, that the son is referred to x years (of Dâmiq-ilishu) + 43 (of Ḫammurabi) + 11 (of Samsu-iluna) = 54 + x years later than the father. The case of *Ur-kingal(?)-a* the scribe, mentioned in the eleventh year of the Nîsin-era, and the fourth of Samsu-iluna's reign, means that he was active for 20 years (of Rim-Sin) + 12 (of Ḫammurabi) + 4 (of Samsu-iluna) = 36 years. Considering all the data one can only conclude, in maintaining the present position, that abundant parallels can be found in the years of service rendered in present day affairs.

	Nîsin Dynasty.		*Larsa Dynasty.*		*Babylon Dynasty.*	
275						
	Ishbi-Urra	32 (268½)	Naplanum	21 (265)		
250						
			Emisu	28 (244)		
	Gimil-ilishu	10 (236½)				
225	Idin-Dagan	21 (226½)				
			Samum	35 (216)		
	Ishme-Dagan	20 (205½)				
200						
	Libit-Ishtar	11 (185½)				
			Zabaia	9 (181)		
175	Ur-NIN-IB	28 (174½)	Gungunu	27 (172)		
150						
	Bur-Sin	21 (146½)	Abi-sarê	11 (145)	Sumu-abi	14 (145)
			Sumu-ilu	29 (134)		
					Sumu-la-ilu	36 (131)
125	Iter-pîsha	5 (125½)				
	Urra-imitti	7 (120½)				
	Sin(?) . . .	½ (113½)				
	Ellil-bâni	24 (113)				
			Nûr-Immer	16 (105)		
100						
					Zabium	14 (95)
	Za[mb]ia	3 (89)	Sin-idinnam	7(?) (89)		
	. . . .	5 (86)				
	Ea . . .	4 (81)	Sin-iribam	2 (82)	Apil-Sin	18 (81)
75	Sin-mâgir	11 (77)	Sin-iqîsham	6(?) (80)		
			Sili-Immer	1 (74)		
			Warad-Sin	12 (73)		
	Dâmiq-ilishu	23 (66)	Rim-Sin 61—12=49	(61)	Sin-muballiṭ	20 (63)
50						
	Fall of Nîsin	(43)			Ḫammurabi	43 (43)
25						
			Ḫammurabi	12(?) (12)		
0			Close of Ḫammurabi's reign.			

recently published text,[13] for although Warad-Sin possessed it, he apparently lost it to Dâmiq-ilishu. The Nippur contracts show the same thing. There have been four different dates of Warad-Sin, found at Nippur, five of Dâmiq-ilishu, and about seven of Rim-Sin before the Nîsin era.[14] Sin-mâgir, who also used the title,[15] had probably lost it to Warad-Sin.

The synchronistic table given above shows that the dynasty of Larsa was established three and a half years after the Nîsin dynasty. It is known that the Elamites invaded and pillaged the land of Sumer and carried Ibe-Sin, the last ruler of Ur, captive to Elam.[16] It is to be noted, that the Ur-Nîsin list ignores any part played by Elam and Larsa in the overthrow of the Ur dynasty, making it appear that "its kingdom passed to Nîsin;" and that the latter régime followed immediately. The power of Ur during the reign of Ibe-Sin apparently had degenerated very considerably, as is shown by the comparatively few records of this reign found among the thousands belonging to the dynasty.[17] It is not impossible that the Western Semites at Nîsin rose to the occasion, and conspired with Elam to accomplish the overthrow of Ur. Subsequently, another foreigner named Naplanum, perhaps an Elamite, established himself at Larsa.

A word also in this connection concerning the reading of NI-SI-IN. Since *I-si-in* has been found in a late Semitic translation of a Sumerian text (*BA* V. 644:9 and 10), and attention has been called to the date [. . .]i-si-in in-dib (*CT* 4, 24:447), scholars generally have adopted the reading *Isin*. As is well known NI has the value *ì* in certain instances, and NI-SI-IN in time was regarded as an ideogram for Isin, still the writer prefers the reading *Nîsin* to *Isin* for the early period, as it, doubtless, was the original pronunciation of the name; which in time, through the aphaeresis of the *n*, was pronounced also *Îsin*. That *Nîsin* was in use during the early period is determined from the writing of the name in several dates on Larsa tablets in the Yale Collection of the second year after the fall of the city, namely *Ni-i-si-in* and *Ni-i-si-in-na* (cf. *YBC*

[13] Cf. Poebel *UMBS* V, 73. King (*Sumer and Accad*, p. 319) had assumed that the title was held by Dâmiq-ilishu, who succeeded Sin-mâgir, on a basis of a tablet found at Sippar, dated in the year he built the wall of Nîsin, and also on a tablet found at Nippur in which he commemorates the building of a temple probably in Babylon.

[14] See Chiera's important collection of dates, *UMBS* VIII 1, 73 ff.

[15] Weissbach *Babylonische Miscellen*, p. 1.

[16] Langdon *Historical and Religious Texts*, p. 5.

[17] Based on an examination of the material in the Yale Collection. See also Langdon *Archives of Drehem*, p. 6.

Nos. 5417 and 5415).[18] At the same time there is evidence that the name was also written *I-si-in* in the early period. This has been supported by the passage frequently quoted, namely, [ ]i-si-in in-dib (*CT* 4, 24:447); and yet this may have been another example of the fuller form *Ni-i-si-in.* But my attention has been called by my pupil, Miss Ettalene Grice, to the writing *I-si-in*^{ki} on a tablet belonging to the Larsa dynasty, (*YBC* No. 4728), which shows that *Îsin* was also used. In the Cassite dynasty, *I-si-in*^{ki} occurs, cf. *BE* XV, 40:4 and 47:5. Whether in the name ^{f}*I-na-Ni-si-in-ḫa-an-bat, BE* XV, 200 I:21, etc., it is to be read *Nîsin* or *Îsin,* is a question. The late Semitic translation of a Sumerian text (*BA* V, 644: 9 and 10); as well as, perhaps the name *Amêl-Î-ši-in* on a boundary stone inscription of Nebuchadnezzar I., would show that in the late period *Îsin* was preferred. For this reason, and in order to distinguish it from the earlier, the late dynasty, which bears the same name, is called *Îsin.*

One other question should be briefly touched upon here. In the past, many students, including the writer, have concurred in the contention that as the sign *NITAḪ* has the Sumerian value uri besides the Semitic value *warad,* and as *EN-ZU* can also be read *Aku,* taking into consideration the passage in Genesis 14:1, the name usually read Warad-Sin, was really pronounced Uri-Aku= Arioch. Others, however, have contended that this king's brother and successor, whose name is usually read Rim-Sin, was the Arioch of Genesis; while still others have claimed that Warad-Sin and Rim-Sin represent the same individual.

The new dynastic list, as mentioned above, settles the last mentioned problem. The first mentioned theory, namely, that Warad-Sin is Arioch, must also be given up, as this king was not the contemporary of Ḫammurabi—no not even when the latter was the royal prince during the reign of Sin-muballiṭ, his father. The only conclusion, therefore, is that Rim-Sin is Arioch. The fact that no important events are referred to in the first years of Ḫammurabi's reign, coincides with the idea that he inherited a kingdom which was subservient to Larsa. The vassalage of Amraphel (Ḫammurabi) implied in Genesis XIV:1,

[18] Chiera (*UMBS* VIII, 1, p. 78, note 2), who is the most recent supporter of the reading Isin, quotes *in-si-na* from one of Langdon's dates, which he suggests should be read *i-si-na?* also the divine name ^{d}*Nin-in-si-na,* and still further from an unpublished list of names, ^{d}*Nin-in-si-*^{ki}*-na.* To these might be added ^{d}Nin-in-ni-si-an-na, ^{d}Nin-in-ni-si-na, etc. (Thureau-Dangin *LC* p. 64.) All these examples, however, if they have any bearing, it seems to the writer, would support the reading Nîsin rather than Isin.

could only have occurred in these first years of his reign. True, not a few scholars place no dependence on the historical value of the coalition of the kings mentioned in the fourteenth chapter of Genesis, but since the many discoveries, which have a bearing upon this part of the chapter referring to foreign political affairs, verify the data set forth in it; and on the other hand, since not a single discovery in any way has impaired its accuracy, the only reasonable conclusion is that its statements, until proved incorrect, must be utilized in the reconstruction of the history of the period, especially if they synchronize with what is fact.

No. 33. Date-list of Babylon's Rule over Larsa.

This small baked tablet was found among inscriptions which came from Senkereh, and represents nearly the entire time when Babylon held sway over Larsa. From this, as well as from two date-lists of Ḫammurabi, it is known that in his 30th year he conquered Elam, and in his 31st year, the land of Emutbaal and king Rim-Sin. In the new dynastic list, Ḫammurabi is given either 13 years, or 12 years and a fraction; and Samsu-iluna is given 12 years. The present list shows that Ḫammurabi is credited with being king of Larsa from the time the victory over Elam was achieved, i. e., from the 30th year.

Since the new dynastic-list, see Text No. 32, gives Samsu-iluna a 12 years' rule over Larsa, and tablets have been found dated in the 12th year, as mentioned above, the present list presumably was written in the seventh year of the king's reign, as only seven year-dates are given in it. Like the Ḫammurabi list in the Constantinople Museum, which was published by Scheil,[1] it shows that several dates have heretofore been misplaced.

The date for the 32nd year is a variant of that usually found. The reading unfortunately is not quite clear. The *ma* is preserved in the fragmentary list published by Pinches (*CT* VI, 10:32), and King (*LIH* II, No. 101). This, Poebel read Aš[-nun-na^{ki}]=Ashnunak, as a variant of *ÉS-NUN-NA^{ki}* usually read Tupliash. The present text, however, shows that the character is probably ma, not *aš*, in the *CT* text.

The name of the city in the date for the 35th year is written Ma-éš^{ki} instead of the usual Ma-rí^{ki} or Ma-er^{ki}. The peculiar form of the character read gal in the 38th year, is also to be noted. The exact significance of the last line of the text also is not clear.

[1] *Des Mémoires de l'Academie des inscriptions et Belles-lettres.*

1	mu ugnim Nim-ma^{ki}	Year when the army of Elam.
	mu ma-da Ia-mu-ut-ba-lum	Year when the land of Iamutbalum.
	mu ugnim Ma-an-ki-tu(?)-ki(?)	Year when the army Ma-an-ki-tu(?)ki.
	mu íd Ḫa-am-mu-ra-bi-nu-ḫu-uš-ni-ši	Year when the canal Ḫammurabi-nuḫush-nishi.
5	mu Ana ^{d}Ninni ^{d}Na-na-a	Year when (for) Anum, Innina and Nana.
	mu bád Ma-éš^{ki}	Year when the wall of Mari.
	mu E-me-te-ur-sag	Year when Emeteursag.
	mu ugnim Tu-ru-qu	Year when the army of Turukku.
	mu É̌š-nun-na^{ki} a-gal-gal-la	Year when Tupliash, which a great flood.
10	mu kilib gú-da-a-bi	Year when the totality of the enemy.
	mu E-meš-lam	Year when Emeshlam.
	mu ^{d}Taš-me-tum	Year when the goddess Tashmetum.
	mu bád Kar ^{d}Šamaš	Year when the wall of Kar-Shamash.
	mu Zimbar^{ki}	Year when Sippar.
15	mu Sa-am-su-i-lu-na lugal nam-en-bi kur-kur-ra	Year when Samsu-iluna, the king, the lordship over the lands.
	mu ama-ar-gi	Year when the freedom.
	mu íd Sa-am-su-i-lu-na-na-ga-[ab-]nu-uḫ-ši	Year when the canal Samsu-iluna-nagab-nuḫshi.
	mu id Sa-am-su-i-lu-na-ḫé-gál	Year when the canal Samsu-iluna-ḫegallum.
	mu giš gu-za bara-ge	Year when the golden throne.
20	mu alam bà-ne	Year when the praying statues.
	mu giš tukul šu-nir	Year when the shining maṣraḫu weapon.

No. 34. Fragment of the Ḫammurabi Code.

Only one side of the fragment, the reverse, is preserved. That it is the reverse is determined by the order of the laws compared with those of the stele. The first column contains the latter part of §165, and the first part of §166. The middle column contains the greater part of §170, and the beginning of §171. The third column contains portions of §173, §174, and §175.

Nos. 35 and 36. Two Inscriptions of An-am.

There has been known for some time a short inscription of An-ám (cf. *VAB* I, p. 222), the exact reading of whose name has not been determined. The two inscriptions here published apparently have come from Erech, over which city An-ám presided. In each, reference is made to the restoration of the temple, which apparently had been burned. In the former, what seems to be the name of a construction A-ka-nun-di-dam is referred to; and in the latter E-gi, "the house of the enu," which is called ki-ku šag-ḫul-la "the joyous dwelling place." In his restoration of the building he mentions, in line 29, what may be the gis-kin "oracle place of that house." If this should prove to be correct, the details referred to will be most interesting. It seems not unlikely that E-gi was the sacerdotal quarters of the high-priest, corresponding perhaps to E-gi-par at Ur, see Texts Nos. 27 and 45. Both inscriptions are cut upon the same kind of light limestone.[1]

^{d}Ninni	To Innina,
nin-a-ni-ir	his lady,
AN-ÁM sib-zid	An-ám, the true shepherd
Unu(g)^{ki}-ga	of Erech,
dumu-ki-ág	the beloved son
^{d}Ninni-gé	of Innina,
[u]d ê-a-ni libir	when her ancient temple
mu-un-gibil	burned,
ki-bi-ne-ge-a	he restored it to its place,
A-ka-nun-di-dam	(and) Akanundidam
mu-un-dú	he built.

^{d}Ninni	To Innina,
nin-gal E-an-na	the great lady of Eanna,
nin-mu-ra	my lady,
AN-ÁM síb-zid	An-ám, the true shepherd
Unu(g)^{ki}-ga-gé	of Erech,

[1] Johns in *AJSL* XXX, p. 290, published a transliteration and translation of what he regarded an imitation of an inscription which was in the hands of an antiquity dealer. His transliteration makes the writer believe it was the above which he saw, or an imitation of it. His translation of the last five lines follows: "the(?) of her house . . . has repaired, to its place restored, . . . built." If Johns regarded it an imitation perhaps in this instance he was justified in publishing it without the consent of the dealer.

IGI+DUB šú-dīm-ma	the mighty seer,
šeg-ga dingir dingir-ri	the obedient one of the gods,
dumu ki-ág	the beloved son
^{d}Ninni a-me-en	of Innina, am I.
ud ê dingir dingir-ri	At that time, the house of the gods,
nig-dím-dím libir-ra	the old construction
^{d}Ur-^{d}Engur	of Ur-Engur
^{d}Dun-gi-ra-gé	and Dungi,
mu-un-gibil-a	which had been burned,
ki-bi ne-ge-a	its place I cleared to the foundation.
ê-gī(g) ê en-na	E-gi, the house of the Enu (high priest),
ki-ku šàg-ḫul-la[2]-na	in the joyous abode,
la-la-bi-šù tūm-ma	unto its fullness as a dwelling
mu-un-ki-gar	I restored.
ê-bil-kim	Like a new house,
ḫu-mu-ù-tu	I did build.
giš gál gal-gal erin	A great door of cedar
giš e-lam-ma-qu	of elammaqu wood,
te-ka-ta tum-a	te-ka-ta tum-a;
giš gál da-al	a wooden swinging door
su-da-si-bi	su-da-si-bi;
ṣalam erin-ga	a statue of cedar,
du zabar gir šú-dū	finished with bright bronze plate,
me-ta ê-e-gé	the oracle place of that house,
ba-ab-dú	I completed.
ê-ga ḫu-mu-si(g)-si(g)	In the temple I did establish.
galu mu-šar-ra-ba	Whoever this inscription
šu-ne-eb-gá-a	shall remove,
mu-ni	(or) his name
ne-ib-šar-ri-a	he shall write on it,
dingir-gal	may the great god,
a-a dingir-ri-e-ne	the father of the gods,
^{d}Ninni nin-an-ki-gé	and Innina, the lady of heaven and earth,
aš-ḫul-bi	with an evil curse
ḫe-im-bal-eš	destroy.

[2] The text reads en, which apparently is a mistake of the scribe, as shown by a fragment of a duplicate, which reads la.

No. 37. Kudurru Fragment of the Îsin Dynasty.

This fragment of a large boundary-stone inscription, in limestone, throws new light on the *PA-ŠE* or Îsin dynasty. The name of the ruler Marduk-shâpik-zêrim has been regarded as a shorter form of the name Marduk-shâpik-zêr-mâti, and as representing the same king.[1] The fragment here published proves that they are the names of two different rulers, and it also furnishes evidence to show that the former ruled prior to the latter.

It is clear from the Synchronistic History that the following rulers reigned in the order here given: Nebuchadnezzar I, Marduk-nâdin-aḫḫê, Marduk-shâpik-zêr-mâti, and Adad-apal-iddina. The close sequence of the first three has been recognized.[2] The last two mentioned, Marduk-shâpik-zêr-mâti, and Adad-apal-iddina, are made immediate successors by the Synchronistic History, which is confirmed by the chronicle published by King (*Chron.* II, 59). That Marduk-nâdin-aḫḫê followed soon after Nebuchadnezzar I, both Hinke and King have demonstrated by showing that persons mentioned under Nebuchadnezzar are also referred to under Marduk-nâdin-aḫḫê. In this connection it might be added that the scribe Shâpiku of the present text (line 29), seems to be identical with Shâpiku, the surveyor of Rawlinson III, 41, who was the brother of one of the surveyors mentioned on the Nippur stone, published by Hinke. In short, the interval was brief between Nebuchadnezzar and Marduk-nâdin-aḫḫê. It is, of course, not conclusive that Marduk-shâpik-zêr-mâti succeeded Marduk-nâdin-aḫḫê, for a short reign might have intervened. The Assyrian king Tiglathpileser, who was a cotemporary of Marduk-nâdin-aḫḫê, was immediately followed by Ashur-bêl-kala, the cotemporary of Marduk-shâpik-zêr-mâti. It can, therefore, only be said that the probability is that the succession in the case of the Babylonians was immediate.

The only reference to the king Marduk-shâpik-zêrim known until recently[3] was on a fragment of a cylinder, which was published by Jastrow *ZA* IV, 301, ff. It was subsequently published by Hilprecht (*BE* I 2, No. 148), who, as stated above, regarded the king identical with Marduk-shâpik-zêr-mâti. This has generally been accepted, but must be given up as determined by the frag-

[1] Cf. Rost *Untersuchungen,* p. 26, note 1; and Hilprecht *BE* I, p. 44, note 4. Hilprecht regards the *"m"* of *Marduk-šâpik-zêrim* as a hypocoristic ending; cf. his editorial note in Ranke *BE* Series D, III, p. 186.

[2] Cf. Hinke *A New Boundary Stone,* p. 133 f.; and King *Babylonian Boundary Stones,* p. 37, note 4.

[3] Cf. King *Babylonian Boundary Stones,* No. XII, p. 80.

ment here published, which is dated on the fourth day of Nisan, in the eighth year of Marduk-nâdin-aḫḫê, and refers to the twelfth year of Marduk-shâpik-zêrim (line 4). This, of course, shows that the latter lived prior to Marduk-nâdin-aḫḫê, and cannot be the same as Marduk-shâpik-zêr-mâti, who ruled later than that king, as we have seen above.

It is not impossible that Marduk-shâpik-zêrim intervened between Nebuchadnezzar and Marduk-nâdin-aḫḫê; but taking all the data into account, it seems more probable that the ruler preceded Nebuchadnezzar. Since he ruled at least twelve years, he could not have been the second king of the dynasty, who only ruled six years according to the fragmentary King-List. And since there are indications that the name of the first ruler of the dynasty began with Marduk, the king Marduk-shâpik-zêrim is tentatively placed at the head of the list, although it may be shown later that he was the third king.[4] Following is a proposed reconstruction of the dynasty.

The Îsin(PA-SHE) Dynasty.

1. 17 years Mard[uk-shâpik-zêrim] (Highest date is 12th year).[5]
2. 6 years [. . . . . .]
3. [. . . . . .]
4. [. . . . Nabû-kudurri-uṣur] (Highest date, 16th year).[6]
5. [. . . . Ellil-nâdin-aplu] (Highest date, 4th year).[7]
6. [. . . . Marduk-shâpik-aḫḫê] (Highest date, 13th year).[8]
7. [. . . . Marduk-shâpik-zêr-mâti].
8. 22 years [Adad-apal-iddina] (Highest date, 10th year).[9]
9. 1½ years Marduk-[aḫḫê-eriba].[10]
10. 13 years Marduk-zêr-[. . . . . .].

[4] The new cylinder of Nabonidus (see Text No. 45) mentions the name of the father of Nebuchadnezzar I, who is known from another source, see Strassmaier *Hebraica* IX, p. 5. In both passages *Enmaštu-nâdin-šum* is not referred to as a king, confirming the idea that has been proposed that Nebuchadnezzar established a new line.

[5] Line 4 of the present text refers to the 12th year.

[6] Hinke *Kudurru Inscriptions,* p. 27, Col. V:26.

[7] See *BE* I, 83:ob. 9.

[8] Sayce "Warwick Kudurru," *PSBA* XIX, p. 71:18.

[9] Hilprecht *Explorations in Bible Lands,* p. 519. According to King *Chronicles* II, p. 59, note 2, he was a usurper, the son of *Itti-Marduk-balâṭu.*

[10] Following Hommel (*Sitzungsberichte der Königl. böhm,* 1901, pp. 18, 24), and Hinke (*A New Boundary Stone,* p. 134), this king, known from *BE* I 2, 149, is tentatively placed as the 9th ruler.

11. 9 years Nabû-shum-[li-bur] (Highest date, 9th year).[11]
132 (years),[12] 6 months, 11 kings, dynasty of Îsin.

No. 38. Building Inscription of Sargon.

This cylinder, which has been presented to the Collection by the Rev. Dr. and Mrs. J. B. Nies, contains an account of the building operations of Sargon, King of Assyria (721–706 B. C.), in restoring the temple Eanna at Erech. The inscription was found in that city during recent activity on the part of Arab diggers. Dungi is credited in the inscription with having built Eanna. The inscription of An-ám of Erech gives this credit to Ur-Engur, as well as to Dungi, see Text No. 36, but there is every reason for believing that the fane is very ancient. This finds support in the fact that in the recently published text giving the early Babylonian dynasties (*UMBS* V, 2, II:3), the second known kingdom is called "the Eanna kingdom."

The text contains an interesting grammatical point. The enclitic verbal copula *ma,* which is known to appear occasionally in other texts as *me, mi* and *mu,* is here regularly changed to *mi* and *mu* under certain conditions. Following a consonant, *ma* is used; cf. *ik-lim-ma, is-suḫ-ma,* etc., but following a vowel, the enclitic takes the same vowel to which it is appended; cf. *u-še-pi-šu-mu, i-qu-pu-mu, uš-šar-ri-ḫu-u-mu, ik-kip-šu-nu-mu, id-di-i-mi,* and *ul-li-mi.* In case the vowel is *e, ma* is retained; cf. *iš-te-'-e-ma* and *li-šad-de-ma.* In the instance of *liš-ša-riq-šum-mu,* the vowel *u* is naturally regarded as preceding, as the sharpening of the consonant, which immediately follows, is due to the accent.

If the last few lines are correctly translated a copy of this inscription was carried to the king's palace in Assyria by Sargon.

TRANSLITERATION.

I. [*A-na* ^{d}*Ištar*] *be-lit matâti*^{meš} *ti-iz-qar ilâni*^{meš}
[*bu-su-um-ti*] *i-la-a-ti*
[. . . . *a-*]*bu-bu iz-zu šuk-lu-tu*

[11] Cf. King *PSBA* XXIX, p. 221, and *Chronicles* II, p. 159.

[12] On the reading, 132 years, instead of 72, cf. Winckler *Untersuchungen,* p. 147. Although nothing is known of the years of two of the kings, by adding together the highest number known for the rest, we have now at least 101 years and 6 months for the dynasty accounted for.

[. . . . .]*za-'-na-at*
[. . . . .*za*]*-kar-ti šag-ga-bur-tu*
[. . . . .] *pul-ḫa-a-ti*
[. . . . .]*u-sat bu-ru-mu*
[. . . . .]*iḫ-zu-šú-un . . . ta-at*
[. . . . .]*ša aš-rum*(?)
[*pa-qa-da-at*] *šib-ṭu u purussû*
[*muš-te-ši-rat*] *šú-luḫ-ḫu*
[*E. . . . .*]*-azag ša ki-rib Uruk*^{ki}
[*be-el-ti rabi*]*-tum bêlti-i-šú*
[*Šar-ú-kin šar* ^{mât}*A*]*šur šar kiššati šakkanak Bâbili*^{ki}
[*šar Šu-me*]*ri u Akkadi*^{ki} *rubû za-a-nin ša*
[*še-bi-e lit-tu-ti*]*-šu arâku û-me-šu la-bar pali-šu*
[*ku-un* ^{iṣ}*kussi*]*-šu sa-kap nâkiri-i-šu*
[*E-an-n*]*a ša* ^{d}*Dun-gi šarru maḫ-ru*
u-še-pi-šú-mu il-li-ku la-ba-riš
bîti šú-a-tum bît libnâtî^{meš}*-šu i-qu-pu-mu*
up-ta-aṭ-ṭi-ru rik-su-ú-tim
sa-met-su uš-šar-ri-ḫu-ú-mu
iḫ-tam-mi-mu ti-mi-en-šu
ina libbi šarrâni^{meš} *a-lik maḫ-ru*
la ib-bal-ki-tu epeš(*-eš*) *šip-ri-šú*
i-nu-šu Šar-ú-kin šar ^{mât}*Ašur šar kiššati*
šakkanak Bâbili^{ki} *ni-šit* ^{d}*Asar-ri*
bêlu rabu-ú ^{d}*Marduk uznâ ṣir-ti iš-ruq-šum-ma*
ú-rap-pi-iš ḫa-si-is-su
[*š*]*a ud-du-šú ma-ḫa-zu u eš-ri-e-ti*
kal ilâni^{meš} *na-du-tu ša* ^{mât}*Akkadi*^{ki} *uzunâ-šu ik-lim-ma*
aš-rat E-an-na šú-bat ^{d}*Ištar bêlit matâti bêlti-i-šu*
iš-te-'-e-ma
bît libitti E-an-na ki-da-a-nu
ša ki-sal-li šap-li-i
sa-met-su is-suḫ-ma innamir(*-ir*) *te-mi-en-šu*
ina alâni^{meš}*-šu ina te-mi-ki ik-ri-bu*
ù la-ba-a-nu ap-pi id-di-i-mi
tim-mi-en-šu ina i-rat ki-gal-la
ú-šar-ši-id ša-du-ú-ú-a-iš

II. *ina ši-pir* ^{d}*Mur* ^{amêl}*DIM-GAL-LA*
ù um-me-ê mu-di-e šip-ri
ina libitti^{zun} *elli-tim rêšû*^{me}*-šu ul-li-mi*
ú-šak-li-il ši-pi-ir-šu
eli ša pa-an ú-ša-tir-ma
uš-te-ši-ra ú-ṣu-ra-a-ti
ana šat-ti šip-ru ša-a-šu ^{d}*Ištar bêlit mâtâti*
ḫadiš(-iš) lip-pa-lis-ma
a-na Šar-ukîna(-na) šar^{mât}*Ašur*^{ki}
šar kiššati šakkanak Bâbili^{ki}
šar za-a-nin ša liš-ruq balâṭa
ma-ḫar Marduk šar ilâni^{meš}
damiqti-šu lit-taz-kar
ina ša-aš-mu ù ta-ḫa-zu
lil-lik ri-ṣu-ú-šú
kakkê^{meš} *lim-nu-ti-šu li-šab-bir-ma*
li-im-ṣa-a ma-la lib-bu-uš
gi-mir ma-al-ku la kan-šu-nu-ti-šu
li-šak-ni-ša še-pu-uš-šú
ina ki-bit ^{d}*Ištar na-ram-ti bêl ilâni*^{meš}
li-iṣ-ṣi-ip bu-'-a-ru
balâṭu umê^{meš} *arkâti ṭu-ub lib-bu*
na-mar ka-bat-ti liš-ša-riq-šum-mu
li-ri-iq pa-lu-ú-šum
išid ^{is}*kussi-šu ana û-mi ṣa-a-ti*
li-šar-šid-ma li-ma-'-ir
kib-ra-a-ti
ša ṣabê^{meš} *kidin šú-bar-e ilâni*^{meš} *rabûti*^{meš}
ma-al-ku-ut-su-nu li-ṭib-bu-uš
ša šú-ba-ri-e-šú-nu-ú-tu ina pali-šu
a-a ib-ba-ši e-šid-su-un
e-gi-it-su-nu li-šad-de-ma
li-pa-as-si-is ḫi-ṭe-it-su-un
saḫ-maš-tum lu-ú ik-kip-šú-nu-mu
li-ša-li-iṣ kab-ta-at-su-un
ki-ma mu . . . . na Uruk^{ki}
ù E-an-na

× ummânu. Brm. 3912.

li-ku-ú-na iš-da-šú-un
gab-ri mu-sar-e
šú-bul-tim ekalli ^{mât}*Ašur*^{ki}
ša-ṭir-ma barû(ŠI-GAN)

TRANSLATION.

I. To Istar, the lady of lands, the exalted of the gods.
[the pleasant one] of the goddesses.
. . . . . mighty storm, the clever one,
. . . . . the good (or caring one),
. . . . . the mighty heroine,
. . . . . .in terribleness,
. . . . . .support of the firmament,
. . . . . their contents(?)
. . . . . of the place(?)
[who governs] the sceptre and decree,
[who directs] the ceremonies of
E . . . . azag, which is in Erech,
the great lady, his mistress,
Sargon, king of Assyria, king of hosts, ruler of Babylon,
king of Sumer and Accad, the restoring prince, who,
[to make abundant his posterity], to prolong his days, to lengthen his [reign,
[to establish his throne], to overthrow his enemies,
Eanna, which Dungi, a former king,
had constructed, and which had become old,
that house, its brick construction had disintegrated, and
the casings had opened;
its rampart he strengthened, and
made secure its foundation.
Among the kings who went before,
they had not destroyed the plan of its construction;
At that time Sargon, king of Assyria, king of hosts,
ruler of Babylon, the favorite of the god Asarri (or Uri),
the great god Marduk, gave it careful attention, and
extended his consideration
who for renewing of the city and ruined shrines
of all the gods of Accad, gave attention, and

the shrine of Eanna, the dwelling place of Ishtar, the lady of lands, his
was mindful of, and [mistress,
the brick construction of Eanna, the protection
of the lower platform,
its rampart, he tore out, and exposed its foundation.
In its cities they prayed with fervor,
and with prostrations he pulled (it) down.
Its foundation in the breast of the *kigallu*
he established like unto a mountain.

II. At the command of the god Mur, the chief builder,
and the wise workmen of the construction,
raised with bright bricks its turrets, and
finished its work.
More than before he enlarged (it), and
planned the lines.
Forever, upon the work itself may Ishtar, the lady of lands,
look joyfully; and
for Sargon the king of Assyria,
king of hosts, ruler of Babylon,
the restoring king, whom may she grant life,
before Marduk, king of gods,
let his pious acts be remembered.
In fight and battle
may she go to his help.
the arms of his adversaries may he break, and
may he obtain what is in his heart.
All the princes who are his unsubmissive ones,
may he subdue to his feet.
By the word of Ishtar, the beloved of the lord of gods,
may he reap joy of life.
May long life, goodness of heart
brightness of disposition be presented him; and
may his reign be long.
The foundation of his throne for future days,
may he establish; and may he govern
the quarters.
As regards the protecting soldiers of the *shubaru* of the great gods,

may their administration please him.
Concerning those *shubaru,* in his reign,
whose disposition truly is not so,
may their sin become known
and may he forgive their shortcoming.
Revulsion verily hath overcome them, and
may it gladden their feelings;
like the *mu . . . na* of Erech
and Eanna,
may their character be firm.
A duplicate of the cylinder,
intended for the palace of Assyria,
is written, and inspected.

No. 39. Dream Portending Favor for Nabonidus and Belshazzar.

This small unbaked tablet contains the interpretation of a dream which betokens favor for Nabonidus, the king, and Belshazzar, the son of the king. It is another illustration of the fact that Belshazzar, well known from the Old Testament, was peculiarly identified with his father Nabonidus in his reign, as shown by the fragmentary chronicle that has been preserved.

I-na ^{arḫu}Ṭebitu ûmu 15^{kan} šattu 7^{kan}	In the month Tebet, day 15th, year 7th
^{d}Nabû-nâ'id šar Bâbili^{ki} ^{m}Šum-ukîn	of Nabonidus, king of Babylon, Shum-ukîn
i-qab-bi um-ma mul-gal ^{d}Dil-bat	says as follows: the great star, Venus,
mul-kak-si-di ^{d}Sin ù ^{d}Šamaš	Kaksidi, the moon, and the sun
ina šú-ut-ti-ia a-ta-mar ù a-na	in my dream I saw, and for
dum-qi ša ^{d}Nabû-nâ'id šar Bâbili^{ki}	favor of Nabonidus, king of Babylon,
bêl-iá ù a-na dum-qi	my lord, and for favor
ša ^{md}Bêl-šar-uṣur mâr šarri	of Belshazzar, the son of the king,
bêl-iá uz-ni li-iš-šu-nu-tu	my lord, may my ear attend to them.
ûmu 17^{kan} ša ^{arḫu}Ṭebitu šattu 7^{kan}	On the 17th day of Tebet, year 7th
^{d}Nabû-nâ'id šar Bâbili^{ki} ^{m}Šum-ukîn	of Nabonidus, king of Babylon, Shum-ukîn
i-qab-bi um-ma mul-gal	says as follows: the great star
a-ta-mar ù dum-qi	I saw, and the favor
ša ^{m}Nabû-nâ'id šar Bâbili^{ki}	of Nabonidus, king of Babylon,

bêli-iá ù dum-qi ša ^{md}Bêl-šar-uṣur
mâr šarri bêli-iá uz-ni li-iš

my lord, and the favor of Belshazzar,
the son of the king, my lord, may my ear
attend.

Nos. 40 and 41. Two Cylinders of Esarhaddon.

The two new inscriptions of Esarhaddon, king of Assyria (680–669 B. C.), were found at Warka, the ancient city of Erech, in Southern Babylonia. They refer to the building operations of the monarch in that city. The cylinders are written in Assyrian, and are beautiful examples of the work of the scribe.

The first one, which is only partially baked, refers to the restoration of Eshargubanna, the shrine of the goddess Nanâ; and the other, which is thoroughly baked, to the restoration of Energalanna,[1] the shrine of the goddess Ishtar, both of which were in the temple Eanna, the chief sanctuary of Erech. The former cylinder credits the Cassite ruler Nazi-Maraddash, of the second millennium, B. C., with having built the shrine, but in the historical inscription of Ashurbanipal this king informs us that after he brought Nanâ back from Elam, to which country she had been taken by Kudur-Nakhundi 1635 years earlier, he restored her to the shrine she loved, Eshargubanna. There can be little doubt but that the shrine was very ancient, and perhaps rebuilt by Nazi-Maraddash. The present text shows that during this period of her absence she was not without representation in her shrine at Erech.

The second text shows that the character, registered by Brünnow *Sign List* No. 951, has the value *ta,* which is determined from its occurrence in the words *ta-ḫa-zi* (lines 4 and 19) and *ma-qit-ta-šu* (line 13). The perpendicular wedge in *Bâbilu^{ki}* in line 19 of the first text seems to have the value *ilu,* or else the scribe has made a mistake.

TRANSLITERATION.

A-na ^{d}Na-na-a šar-rat Uruk^{ki} bêltu rabi-ti bêlti-šu
^{m}Ašur-aḫ-iddina(-na) šar ^{mât}Ašur šakkanak Bâbili^{ki}
šar ^{mât}Šú-me-ri u Akkadi^{ki} muš-te-'-u aš-rat ilâni^{meš} rabûti^{meš}
ba-nu-ú bît ^{d}Ašur e-piš E-sag-ila u Bâbili^{ki}
mu-ud-diš E-an-na mu-šak-lil eš-rit kul-lat ma-ḫa-zi
šá ina qir-bi-ši-na iš-tak-ka-nu si-ma-a-ti
ka-šid ul-tu tam-tim e-li-ti a-di tam-tim šap-li-ti

[1] Cf. also *BA* III, p. 260:6.

šá gi-mir ma-li-ki ú-šak-ni-šú še-pu-uš-šú
mâr ^{md}Sin-aḫê^{meš}-eriba šar ^{mât}Ašur mâr ^{m}Šar-ukîn šar ^{mât}Ašur
šakkanak Bâbili^{ki} šar ^{mât}Šú-me-ri u Akkadi^{ki}
E-šár-gùb-an-na bît pa-paḫ ^{d}Na-na-a bêlti-ia
šá ^{m}Na-zi-marad-daš šar Bâbili^{ki} i-pu-šú
^{m}Eri-ba-Mar-duk šar Bâbili^{ki} ú-ki-eš-šú-u[1]
la-ba-riš il-lik-ma ma-qit-ti ir-ši
aš-ra-ti-šu aš-te-' ina a-gur-ri utûni elli-tim
ma-qit-ta-šu ak-šir qatâ ^{d}Na-na-a bêlti-ia
aṣ-bat-ma a-na qir-bi-šu ú-še-rib šú-bat da-rat ú-šar-me
ši-pir ša-a-šu ^{d}Na-na-a ḫa-diš ina nap-lu-si-ša
i-a-a-ti ^{md}Ašur-aḫ-iddina šar ^{mât}Ašur šar Bâbili^{ki}
a-mat damiqti-ia ina ma-ḫar ^{d}Nabû bêli-iá liš-ša-kin šap-tuš-ša
šá šú-me šaṭ-ru ina ši-pir ni-kil-ti i-pa-aš-ši-ṭu
mu-šar-u-a i-ab-bat lu-u a-šar-šu ú-nak-ka-ru
^{d}Na-na-a ag-giš lik-kil-me-šu-ma šumi-šu zêri-šu lu-ḫal-liq

TRANSLATION.

To Nanâ, the queen of Erech, the great lady, his lady,
Esarhaddon, king of Assyria, king of Babylon,
king of Sumer and Accad, the one mindful of the shrines of the great gods,
the builder of the temple of Ashur, the maker of Esagil and Babylon,
the restorer of Eanna, the one who completes the shrines of all cities,
who in their midst established the insignia;
the conqueror, who from the upper sea unto the lower sea,
caused all princes to submit to his feet;
son of Sennacherib, king of Assyria, son of Sargon, king of Assyria,
ruler of Babylon, king of Sumer and Accad;
Eshargubanna, the *bît pa-paḫ* (or shrine) of the goddess Nanâ, my lady,
which Nazi-Maraddash, king of Babylon, built, (and)
Eriba-Marduk, king of Babylon, strengthened,
had become old, and had fallen into a ruin.
I searched for its lines. With bright kiln-baked bricks,
I repaired its ruins. The hands of Nanâ, my lady,
I seized, and caused to enter into its midst. An eternal dwelling place I caused (her) to occupy.

[1] It would seem that *ki* is a mistake for *di*.

Upon the work itself, may Nanâ, in her beholding it joyfully,
for me, Esarhaddon, king of Assyria, king of Babylon,
the mention of my pious acts before Nebo, my lord, let be upon her lips.
The one, who obliterates my written name through a work of malevolence,
shall destroy my inscription, or change its place,
may Nanâ angrily look upon him, and utterly destroy his name (and) his seed.

TRANSLITERATION.

A-na ^{d}Ištar Uruk^{ki} e-til-lit šame-e u irṣi-tim qa-rit-ti ilâni^{meš} ṣir-ti
bêltu šur-bu-tu ḫa-me-mat pa-ra-aṣ ^{d}A-num-tu šá na-gab šú-luḫ-ḫu šú-up-qu-ud-du qa-tuš-ša
ša-nu-kat i-la-a-te šá ina ir-me a-nu ù ki-gal-li šur-ru-ḫu zik-ru-ša
i-lat qabli ù ta-ḫa-zi a-li-kat i-di šarri mi-gir-i-ša mu-ra-aš-ši-bat ga-ri-e-šu
a-ši-bat E-ner-gál-an-na šá ki-rib E-an-na bêlit Uruk^{ki} bêltu rabi-ti bêlti-šu
^{md}Ašur-aḫ-iddina(-na) šar kiššâti šar ^{mât}Ašur^{ki} šakkanak Bâbili^{ki} šar ^{mât}Šú-me-ri ù Akkadi^{ki}
šarru šaḫ-ṭu muš-te-'-u aš-ra-a-ti ilâni^{meš} rabûti^{meš} pa-liḫ bêl bêlê
ba-nu-u bît ^{d}Ašur e-piš E-sag-ila ù Bâbili^{ki} za-nin E-zi-da
mu-ud-diš E-an-na mu-šak-lil eš-ri-e-ti ma-ḫa-zi šá ina ki-rib-ši-na iš-tak-ka-mu si ma-a-ti
mâr ^{md}Sin-aḫê^{meš}-eriba šar kiššati šar ^{mât}Ašur^{ki} mâr ^{m}Šar-ukîn šar ^{mât}Ašur^{ki} šakkanak Bâbili^{ki} šar ^{mât}Sú-me-ri u Akkadi^{ki}
E-ner-gál-an-na bît pa-pa-ḫi ^{d}Iš-tar bêlti-ia šá ki-rib E-an-na
šá šar maḫ-ri i-pu-šú la-ba-riš il-li-ku mi-qit-ti ir-ši
aš-ra-ti-šu aš-te-' ina a-gur-ri utûnu elli-tim ma-qit-ta-šu ak-še-ir
qâtâ ^{d}Ištar Uruk^{ki} bêlti rabi-ti aṣ-bat-ma a-na ki-rib-šu ú-še-rib šú-bat da-ra-a-te ú-šar-me
niqê^{meš} taš-ri-iḫ-ti aq-qi uš-tam-zi-iḫ si-ga-ar-ša
^{d}Ištar Uruk^{ki} bêltu ṣir-ti ina ki-rib bît pa-pa-ḫi šú-a-te ḫa-di-iš ina a-ša-bi-ki
ia-a-ti ^{md}Ašur-aḫ-iddina(-na) šar ^{mât}Ašur^{ki} a-mat damiqti-ia liš-ša-kin šap-tuk-ki
balâṭ(TIL-LA) umê^{meš} rûqûti^{meš} še-bi-e lit-tu-tu ṭu-ub šîri ù ḫu-ud lib-bi ši-i-me ši-ma-ti
ina qab-lu ù ta-ḫa-zi i-da-ai-i taš-mur-ma kul-lat na-ki-ri-ia lu me iš-qul ba-qir
ma-ti-ma ina aḫ-rat umê^{me} rubû arku-u šá ina pali-šu bît pa-pa-ḫi šú-a-te in-na-ḫu an-ḫu-us-su lu-ud-diš

šú-me it-ti šú-me-šu liš-ṭur mu-sar-ru-u ši-ṭir šumi-ia šamna lip-šú-uš niqâ liqqi(qi) it-ti mu-sar-e-šu liš-kun

ik-ri-bi-šu ilâni^{meš} i-šim-mu-u šá šú-me šaṭ-ru ina ši-pir ni-kil-ti i-pa-aš-ši-ṭu mu-sar-ru-u-a i-ab-bat lu-u a-šar-šu ú-nak-ka-ru

^{d}Ištar Uruk^{ki} ag-giš lik-kil-me-šú-ma ši-mat li-mut-tu li-šim-šu

šumi-šu zêri-šu ina mâti li-ḫal-lik-ma a-a ir-ši-šu ri-e-me

TRANSLATION.

To Ishtar of Erech, princess of heaven and earth, the valiant one of the gods, the distinguished one,

the majestic lady, who governs the decisions of the gods, whose hands superintend all the rites,

the princess of the goddesses, whose word is mighty in the dwelling of heaven and earth,

the goddess of battle and warfare, who goes by the side of the king, her favorite one, the terrible one of his enemies,

who dwells in Energalanna, which is in Eanna, the mistress of Erech, the great mistress, his lady,

Esarhaddon, the king of hosts, king of Assyria, the ruler of Babylon, king of Sumer and Accad,

the pious king, who is mindful of the shrines of the great gods, who reverences the lord of lords,

the constructor of the temple of Ashur, the maker of Esagila and Babylon, the caretaker of Ezida,

the restorer of Eanna, who completes the sacred places of the cities, who established the insignia in their midst,

the son of Sennacherib, king of hosts, king of Assyria, son of Sargon, king of Assyria, ruler of Babylon, king of Sumer and Accad,

Energalanna, the sanctuary Ishtar, my lady, which is in Eanna,

which a former king had built, had become old, and had become dilapidated,

I sought out its position. With bright kiln-bricks its ruins I repaired.

the hands of Ishtar of Erech, the great lady, I seized, and caused to enter it, an eternal dwelling place I made (her) inhabit.

Immense sacrifices I offered; I purified its enclosure.

Oh, Ishtar of Erech, exalted lady, in thy dwelling joyfully in that shrine,

for me, Esarhaddon, king of Assyria, let a word of my piety be upon thy lips.

Life of long days, plenty of posterity, health of body, and joy of heart, assign as my destiny.

In strife and battle do thou guard my sides, and all my enemies . . .

When in future days a later prince, who, in his reign that sanctuary has disintegrated, may he restore its ruins.

Let him write my name with his name. The cylinder, the inscription of my name, let him anoint with oil; a sacrifice let him offer; with his cylinder let him place (it).

The gods will hear his prayer. The one who obliterates my written name through a work of malevolence,

who shall destroy my cylinder, or change its place,

may Ishtar of Erech angrily look upon him, and assign him an evil destiny.

His name, his seed in the land, may she destroy, and not grant him mercy.

No. 43. Mortuary Inscription.

The small baked clay cylinder, containing a mortuary inscription, exhibits the consideration shown by Ashur-etil-ilâni, king of Assyria (626–618 B. C.), for the remains of Shamash-ibni, apparently one of his officers, in having them sent to his native town, Bît-Dakur, and placed in a room of the fortress. The cylinder was said[1] to have been found at a site called "Tel Khaled a few miles to the southeast of Hilla, near the present course of the Euphrates." Kiepert's map *Ruinenfelder von Babylon* does not show such a site. If, however, the provenance given is correct, it perhaps would be an indication that Tel Khaled represents the ancient town Bît-Dakur.

TRANSLITERATION.

Kimaḫḫu ša ^{md}*Šamaš-ib-ni mâr* ^{m}*Da-ku-ru(?) ša* ^{md}*Ašur-etil-ilâni*^{meš} *šar* ^{mât}*Ašur*

ri-e-mu ir-ša-aš-šum-ma ul-tu ki-rib [*šadê*]*-e a-na bîti* ^{m}*Da-kur mâti-šu*

ú-bil-la-aš-šum-ma ina kimaḫḫi ina ki-rib bîti ša dûri ša la di-ni ú-ša-aṣ-li-lu-šu

man-nu at-ta lu-ú ^{amêl}*šak-nu lu-ú* ^{amêl}*ša-pi-ru lu-ú da-ai-nu*

lu-ú rubû ša ina mâti iš-šak-ka-nu a-na kimaḫḫi u e-ṣi-it-ti

šú-a-ti la ta-ḫa-aṭ-ṭu a-šar-šu ú-ṣur

[1] The dealer from whom the inscription was purchased had a second, but very fragmentary copy. It was stated also that a third had been sold in Bagdad.

ṣi-il-li ṭa-a-bi e-li-šu tu-ru-uṣ
a-na šú-a-ti ^{d}Marduk bêlu rabu-ú pa-li-e-ka lu-ur-riq
ṣu-lul-šu ṭa-a-bu e-li-ka li-iš-kun
[*šumi*]*-ka zêri-ka ù ba-la-ṭu û-me-ka arkûti . . . . . .*
šum-ma rubû šú-ú lu-ú ^{amêl}šak-nu lu-ú ^{amêl}ša-pi-ru lu-ú da-ai-nu
lu-ú šakkanak ša ina mâti ib-ba-aš-šú-ú
a-na kimaḫḫi u e-ṣi-it-ti šú-a-ti i-ḫa-aṭ-ṭu-ú
a-šar-šu ú-nak-ka-ri a-na a-šar ša-nam-ma i-liq-qu-ú
ù man-ma a-na li-mut-tum ú-šad-ba-bu-šu-ma i-šim-mu-ú
^{d}Marduk bêlu rabu-ú šumi-šu zêri-šu pir'ê^{meš}-šu ù na-an-nap-šu
i-na pi-i nišê^{meš} li-ḫal-liq
^{d}Nabû sa-ni-iq[2] *mit-ḫar-ti mi-na-a-ta û-me-šu arkûti^{meš} li-kar-ri*
^{d}Nergal ina ṭi-' šib-ṭu u šag-ga-aš-ti
la i-gam-mi-il nap-šat-su

TRANSLATION.

The coffin of Shamash-ibni, the Dakurite, to whom Ashur-etil-ilâni, king of Assyria,
showed favor, and from [the mountains] to Bît-Dakur, his land,
brought him, and in a sarcophagus in the house of the fortress, without contention, caused him to rest.
Whoever thou art, whether a prefect, or a ruler, or a judge,
or a prince, who art established in the land, against that sarcophagus and *eṣitti* (remains?)
thou shalt not commit sin. Its place protect,
good shelter spread over it.
For that, may Marduk the great lord lengthen thy reign,
place his good protection over thee.
Thy [name] thy seed, and life of thy future days, [may he . . . . . .
If a prince, himself, or a prefect, or a ruler, or a judge,
or a viceroy, who comes to the land,
sin against that sarcophagus and *eṣitti*,
alter its place, remove to another place,

[2] Jensen *Cosmology*, p. 470, translates a title of ^{d}*NIN-IB* written *sâniq mitḫarti* "der da zuschliesst die Tür". See also Muss-Arnolt *Dic.*, p. 622. As *maḫiru* means "rival," *maḫirtu* "opposite" and *miḫru* "adversity" it is reasonable to assume that *mitḫartu* or *mitḫurtu* means "adversary" in *sa-ni-iq mit-ḫar-ti*, the above title of Nebo. It seems "door" does not fit in either case.

or someone incite him to evil, and he hearken,
may Marduk, the great lord, his name, his seed, his offspring, his descendants,
destroy in the mouth of the peoples.
May Nebo, the oppressor of the adversary, shorten the number of his future days.
May Nergal from misery, pestilence, and calamity
not protect his life.

No. 44. Cylinder of Nebuchadnezzar II. 604–561 B. C.

Several fragments of a duplicate of this baked cylinder are to be found in the British Museum. Winckler, in 1887, published the text of these fragments in *ZA* II, p. 137 ff., and subsequently the translation, *KB* III², 64 f. A considerable portion of the second column, besides passages of the first, are missing. The cylinder in the Yale Collection, here published, is complete. A duplicate also is found in the possession of the Rev. Dr. J. B. Nies of Brooklyn.

The provenance of the inscription was said to be Wanna-Sedoum, which is doubtless correct, for this site represents Marad, see page 9, and the inscription refers to the restoration of E-igi-kalama, the temple of Shar-Maradda, in Marad. In the account of his work on the temple, Nebuchadnezzar informs us that he searched for and beheld the foundation or foundation-stone of Narâm-Sin, his ancient ancestor. At the same site the Arabs found inscribed stones of this ruler, who lived several millenniums prior to the time of Nebuchadnezzar (see No. 10, and Plate II).

TRANSLITERATION.

I. *ᵈNa-bi-um-ku-du-ur-ri-u-ṣu-ur*
šar Bâbiliᵏⁱ
ri-e-a-um ki-i-nim mi-gi-ir ᵈMarduk
iš-ša-ak-ku ṣi-i-ri na-ra-am ᵈNa-bi-um
e-im-ga mu-ut-ni-en-nu ù za-ni-in E-sag-ila ù E-zi-da
i-da-an za-na-a-tim
mu-ud-di-iš e-eš-ri-e-ti ilâni rabûti
mâru a-šá-ri-du
šá ᵈNa-bi-um-apal-u-ṣu-ur šar Bâbiliᵏⁱ a-na-ku
í-nu-um ᵈMarduk be-lí ra-bé-ù
ni-ší ra-ap-šá-a-ti a-na ri-e-ú-ti i-ti-nam

za-na-an ma-ḫa-zi ud-du-šù e-eš-ri-e-ti
ra-bi-iš ú-ma-'-ir-an-ni
a-na-ku a-na [d]Marduk be-lí-ia
ka-ai-na-ak la ba-aṭ-la-ak
i-na kaspu ḫuraṣi abnê ni-se-iq-ti šú-ku-ru-ú-ti
e-ra-a [iš]miskanna [iš]erini
E-sag-ila u-šá-pi(?)-ma[1]
û-mi-iš u-na-am-mi-ir
E-zi-da ú-šá-ak-li-il-ma
ki-ma ši-de-ir-ti šá-ma-mi ú-ba-an-nim
i-na e-eš-ri-e-ti ilu rabûti
zi-in-na-a-tim aš-tak-ka-an
a-na [d]Šar-Marad-da be-lí-ia at-ta-'-id-ma
E-igi-kalama bît-su šá ki-ri-ib Marad-da[ki]
šá iš-tu û-um ri-e-ku-ú-tim
te-me-en-šú la-bé-ri la i-mu-ru šar ma-aḫ-ra

II. *ma-az-za-al-ti az-zu-ul-ma*[2]
te-me-en-šú la-bé-ri a-ḫi-iṭ ab-ri-e-ma
te-me-en-na šá Na-ra-am-[d]Sin lugal-e
a-ba-am la-bé-ri a-mu-ur-ma
ši-ṭé-ir šú-mi-šú la ú-na-ak-ki-ir
ši-ṭé-ir šú-mu-ia it-ti ši-ṭé-ir šú-mi-šú aš-tak-ka-an-ma
e-li te-me-en-na šá Na-ra-am-[d]Sin lugal-e
ú-ki-in uš-šú-šú
[iš]ta-al-lum ká-na-ku[iš] sikkur šaqili([iš]ŠAK-KUL-LÁL)
šá [iš]a-šú-ḫu aš-tak-ka-an-ma
[iš]a-šú-ḫu pa-aq-lu-ú-tim

[1] The text reads *u-šá-KAL-ma*, which is perhaps a mistake for *u-šá-pi-ma*, the form which occurs usually in this passage.

[2] *Ma-az-za-al-ti az-zu-ul-ma.* Following Delitzsch, *Prol.*, p. 142, and Zimmeru *KAT*[3], p. 628, the Hebrew מזלות the Syriac ܡܙܠܬܐ the Phoenician מזל the Mandaic מאנזאלאתא and the Arabic منزل are regarded as having been borrowed from the Babylonian *manzaltu*, which is from the root *nazâzu*. Since there is a root in Arabic نزل "to alight", "to encamp near", there can be but little doubt but that منزل "dwelling" station is from that root. That this is correct and that *manzaltu* is also from a root *nazâlu*, and not *nazâzu*, is determined by the above passage *ma-az-za-al-ti az-zu-ul-ma*. This same word occurs as *ma-az-za-aš-ti-šu-nu* in King *Ḫammurabi Letters* III, p. 281. For the phonetic change of *l* into *s* in Babylonian, see forthcoming article in *OLZ*.

ṣi-i-ti qi-in-ne-e ra-bé-ú-tim
a-na zu-lu-li-šú ú-šá-at-ri-iṣ
bîta ú-šá-ak-li-il-ma
a-na ^{d}Šar-Marad-da be-lí-ia
ki-ma û-um ú-na-am-mi-ir
^{d}Šar-Marad-da be-lí ku-ul-la-at ga-ar-dam
a-na bîti šá-a-ti ḫa-di-iš i-na e-ri-bi-ka
li-bi-it ga-ti-ia šú-ku-ru
a-na da-mi-iq-ti ḫa-di-iš na-ap-li-is-ma
da-am-ga-tu-ú-a
li-iš-ša-ak-na šá-ap-tu-uk-ka
ba-la-aṭ û-um da-er-ú-tim
še-bi-e li-it-tu-ú-ti
ku-un ^{iš}kussi ù la-ba-ri pa-li-e
a-na ši-ri-iq-ti šú-ur-qam
^{iš}kakkê dannu-tim li-il-li-ku i-da-ai
ši-gi-iš ku-ul-la-at la ma-gi-ri
ḫu-ul-li-iq na-ap-ḫa-ar-šú-un
i-na ma-ḫar ^{d}Marduk šar šá-mi-e ù ir-ṣi-ti
ki-bé du-um-ku-ú-a

TRANSLATION.

I. Nebuchadnezzar,
king of Babylon,
the true shepherd, the favored of Marduk,
the exalted ruler, the beloved of Nebo,
the wise one, the prayerful one, the caretaker of Esagil and Ezida,
skilled in the work of adorning,
the restorer of the shrines of the great gods;
the first born son of
Nabopolassar, king of Babylon, am I.
When Marduk, the great lord,
gave (me) wide spread peoples to shepherd,
(and) to care for cities, to renew shrines,
majestically sent me
I am for Marduk, my lord;
I am faithful; I am unwearied.
With silver, gold, costly precious stones,

copper, *miskannu* wood, cedar,
Esagil I adorned, and
made shine as day.
Ezida I completed, and
like the canopy of heaven I made brilliant.
In the shrines of the great gods
I made restorations.
To Shar-Maradda, my lord, I did honor.
E-igi-kalama, his temple, which is in Marad,
which from a distant day
its old foundation-stone a former king had not seen,
II. its position I determined;
its ancient foundation-stone I searched for, and beheld, and
the foundation-stone of Narâm-Sin, king,
an ancient ancestor, I saw, and
the inscription of his name I did not change.
The inscription of my name I placed with the inscription of his name and
upon the foundation of Narâm-Sin, king,
I established its foundation.
A *tallu*, a door-post, a bolt
of *ašuḫu* wood I made, and
powerful *ašuḫu* timber
the product of a mighty species,
I spread out for its roof.
The house I finished and
for Shar-Maradda, my lord,
like the day I made shine.
Oh Shar-Maradda, the lord of all, the hero,
in thy entering that house, gladly,
the precious work of my hands
joyfully look upon with favor, and
as my pious deeds
let be established upon thy lips.
Life of a distant day;
abundance of posterity;
an established throne, and a long reign,
grant as a gift.

May powerful weapons go by my side.
Smite all the unfriendly.
Destroy all of them.
Before Marduk, the king of heaven and earth,
speak for my favor.

No. 45. The Dedication of Nabonidus's Daughter as a Votary.

The cylinder of Nabonidus (555–539 B. C.), which is thoroughly baked, contains an account of his restoration of E-gi-par, an ancient seat of divination which was connected with Egishshirgal, the temple of Nannar, or Sin, at Ur. It also records the building of a residence for his daughter, Bêl-shalṭi-Nannar, and her consecration to the office of a votary. The work of restoration was undertaken after the king had assured himself that it was the desire of the gods that he should do so, by consulting their will through divination, three times, as we are informed he did on another occasion. The inscription is said to have been found at Mugheir, the site of the ancient city of Ur.

E-gi-par, as the text informs us, was the ancient quarters of an order of women, called *entu*. It is called such not only in the cylinder, but also in a stamped brick inscription of Nabonidus (cf. *R* I, 68, 7), who says that he restored E-gi-par, the house of the *entu*, which is in Ur. Other indications that the building was one in which women presided are to be seen in the reference of Nabonidus to having found, among inscriptions of ancient kings in its ruins, one of *EN-AN-E-UL*,[1] an *entu*, who was the daughter of Kudur-Mabug, and sister of Rim-Sin (Arioch of Genesis XIV:1); and also in his mention of having seen an inscription of Nebuchadnezzar I, which contained the likeness of an *entu*-votary.

The earliest reference to the building is to be found in an inscription of Amar-Sin, of the Ur dynasty, who restored gi-par azag "the bright (holy gipar" for Nannar (*VS* I, p. 198, e:21). Libit-Ishtar, a ruler of Nîsin (see Text No. 27), also informs us that he restored E-gi-par, of Ur. The present text calls E-gi-par "a bright (or holy) habitation, the place of the decisions of the *entu*", leaving no question as to the purpose of E-gi-par.[2] Our text informs

[1] Scheil, *Comptes-rendus*, 1912, p. 680, mentions having seen this cylinder in Paris, and among other things refers to this name, reading it *BIL(?)-AN-KAL-UL;* see also Poebel *UMBS* IV, 1, p. 140. The third character without any doubt is *E* not *KAL*.

[2] On *giparu* see the literature quoted by Muss-Arnolt, *Dictionary*, p. 229; Jensen *KB* VI, p. 304; Thureau-Dangin *Nouvelles Fouilles de Tello*, p. 174, note 1; and Langdon *Bab. Liturgies*, p. 109, note 2.

us that there were shrines or booths (*parakkê*), and some kind of appurtenances (*uṣurâti*) in the structure, doubtless for conducting the office.

Nabonidus restored also the wall about the Majal of the *entu*. Apparently the Majal, which word seems to mean "resting-place",[3] was the dormitory of the order, and was situated in proximity to E-gi-par. He also, as mentioned, erected by the side of E-gi-par a residence for his daughter. While it is not stated that she was to be the head of the order, it is not unlikely that such was the case. This can be inferred from the prayer of the king at the close of the cylinder, which reads: "May Bêl-shalṭi-Nannar the daughter, the beloved of my heart, be strong before them; and may her word prevail."

It is rather an exception to find names of people from Babylon compounded with the deity "Nannar." The name given his daughter, Bêl-shalṭi-Nannar, doubtless was her official name, given when she was inducted into office. That Nannar appears in it, is no doubt due to the fact that E-gi-par, where she presided, was not only connected with the temple of that deity, but also because Nannar was the deity to whom the women looked for inspiration in their profession. The occurrence of the name *EN(Bêl)-AN-E-UL* in the cylinder, borne by the daughter of Kudur-Mabug, suggests the idea that perhaps the peculiar formation of the name given the daughter of Nabonidus, Bêl-shalṭi-Nannar, which contains the element *Bêl* "lord," may be due to its being fashioned after some ancient name of the order.

The *entu* are referred to in the Code of Ḫammurabi. In it legislation is found concerning a number of orders of women: the *entu* (*NIN-DINGIR-RA*),[4] *tigiltu*(*SAL-ME*), *qadishtu*(*NU-GIG*), *zermashitum*(*NU-BAR*), and *zikrum*. In the Shurpu Series VIII:52, these votaries are mentioned in the above order, with the *zikrum* omitted. There is nothing, however, in the Code that throws light upon the religious functions of any of these orders.

The *entu* are referred to in temple documents of the Cassite period, from Nippur, in which subdivisions of the order are given, as, *entu rabû*, "the great entu", and *entu ṣihru*, "small entu".[5] These are summed up as *enâtu* (plural).[6] In *BE* XIV, 99a, there is an inventory of oxen and sheep, the property of this order. In *BE* XV, 163:28, payment is made to eight *zinnišâti ša ili* "women of the god". This passage, however, may refer to a different class of votaries.

[3] See Jensen, *KB* VI, p. 409.

[4] The reading *entu* for *NIN-DINGIR-RA*, cf. *CT* XIX, 41:1a, is borne out by the present text; cf. Frank *Studien zur Babylonischen Religion*, p. 48 f.

[5] See Clay *BE* XIV, 136:16 and 29.

[6] Cf. also *NIN-DINGIR-GAL*, *BE* XIV, 89:1, 9; 131:[1], 18; 138:31; *NIN-DINGIR-TUR*, *BE* XIV, 89:1, 16; and *NIN-DINGIR-MEŠ*, *BE* XIV, 99a:46; 136:1 5.

These references to the property of the *entu* of Nippur are interesting in the light of lines II: 13 and 14, where we learn that Nabonidus increased the *sattuku,* or fixed offerings, and enriched the order with other possessions.

The text published here shows the nature of their calling. The *entu* were devoted to the practice of magic. In dedicating his daughter as an *entu,* Nabonidus says, "for the service of divination I established her office of divination (II:11). This leaves no doubt that the unchaste reputation given the women devotees of Babylonian temples by Greek writers is not to be applied at least to this order,[7] and especially when we know the part played by royal princesses. The character of divination practised by the women augurs, whether it was hepatoscopy or astrology or the interpretation of dreams by oil bubbles on water, or of other peculiar phenomena, as mishaps, monstrosities, etc., is not hinted at. That there were male offices of diviners would suggest perhaps that such magic as liver divination was practiced by men. Since Nannar, the moon god, was the ruler of the starry heavens, the father of the stars of night, the *na-aš ṣa-ad-du a-na da-ad-mi* "bearer of signs for the people" (line 6), it is not improbable that the office had to do with astrology. There is a *gi-par* referred to in a letter, *CT* XXII, 1:29, which seems to be a place where tablets were kept. Naturally, if the *entu* women practiced divination of any kind, it is quite reasonable to infer that they possessed texts containing the formulæ for the purpose.

Of seeming importance is the list of functionaries in connection with the temple Egishshirgal (II:26). The *enu* or high priest is referred to at the head of the list. Together with the *lagaru* he is referred to in the Gilgamesh Epic (*KB* VI, 1, 188, li. 42). Gudea calls himṣelf en ^{d}Ningirsu. In a brick inscription, Ur-Ningirsu uses the title en išib-zib an-na išib-ad-azag en-ki-ag-^{d}Ninâ, "the enu, true priest of Anu (or heaven), the priest of the bright (or holy) house, the beloved priest of Ninâ." In the present text *enu* is explained as *i-šib-bu* ^{eru}*DIB-BA* "the priest of the bronze *dibba.*" In view of the fact that the sign *DIB* was composed of two originally different signs, *LAGAB* "an enclosure," and *PA* "a sceptre" or "staff" (see Barton *BA* IX, p. 244), perhaps *DIB-BA* was some kind of a sceptre or divining rod, and is the hook-like objects so frequently held by priests and kings. The *enu* apparently was not only the high priest, but the prince or ruler of the entire sanctuary. Since the building E-gi-par at Ur is so prominently mentioned in inscriptions from

[7] Cf. Lyon, "The Consecrated Women of the Ḫammurabi Code," *Toy Memorial,* 341 ff.

that city, and in the inscription of Libit-Ishtar (see Text No. 27), the *enu* apparently is identified with it, as well as the *entu* votaries, as shown by the present text, and it is not impossible that the building was the quarters of this sacerdotal head of the cult. And it seems not improbable also that E-g i at Erech, called the "house of the e n-n a" (see Text 36:16), in which there was an oracle place, was the residence of the high priest of that city. The oracle place may refer to the *giskim* or *kiškanu*.

The *âriru* apparently means "the imprecator." The Hemerology, discussed on page 79, provides that certain days were not suitable for pronouncing maledictions. From this it can be inferred that some one officially pronounced the oft recurring curses, found in the literature. Besides the maledictions for corrective purposes, or for restraint, the officer may also have been the one who passed the sentence upon the guilty. The function of the *lagaru* seems to be clear from line II, 28. He is the "institutor of supplications" (*šâkinu takribtu*). The *zammerê* "singers" are those "who rejoice the heart of the gods." It is not impossible that the list given in the text represents all the chief functionaries of the temple. These, it seems, are summed up by the term *bur-sag-gi-e* (II:24).

TRANSLITERATION.

I. *Ni-nu ^{d}Nannar(^{d}SIS^{ki})-ri i-ri-šú enti(NIN-DINGIR-RA)*
mâr ru-bi-e gi-is-ki-im ba-šú ú-kal-li-im ad-na-a-tim
ili nam-ra ṣi-it ú-šá-pi pu-ru-us-sa-šú ki-i-nu
a-na ^{md}Na-bi-um-na-'-id šar Bâbili^{ki} za-ni-in E-sag-ila ù E-zi-da
5 *ri-e-a-am pa-al-ḫu mu-uš-te-'-ú aš-ra-ti ilâni^{meš} rabûti^{meš}*
^{d}Nannar(^{d}SIS^{ki})-ri bêl a-gi-i na-aš ṣa-ad-du a-na da-ad-mi
ú-ad-di it-ta-šú aš-šum e-ri-eš enti(NIN-DINGIR-RA)
i-na ^{arḫu}Ulul ûmu 13^{kan} arḫu ši-bi-ir ^{d}ištarâti^{meš}
ilat in-bi in-na-di-ir-ma i-na na-'i-du ri-šú ir-bi

Annotations I. 1. *E-ri-šu* as a title of Nannar, who was the "illuminator," apparently was the deity to whom the *entu* looked for guidance. He, therefore, was the "revealer" or "inspirer" of the order, see also line 10.

2. *Gi-is-ki-im* apparently is a Semitized form of g i š-k i n, which occurs in the text No. 31:15, and frequently in the early texts, usually read g i š-ḫ a r. In Assyrian the word is found written *kiškanû*, see literature quoted by Muss-Arnolt *Dic.*, p. 450. In the Gudea Cyl. (*VAB* I, p. 16) g i š-k a-a n-n a seems to be a part of E-Ninnû.

2. *Ad-na-a-tim*, pl. of *adannu*(?), seems to be from יעד and means "signs," "oracles;" cf. *Sin mu-kal-lim ittâti*(*ITI^{meš}*), *R* IV, 56:11.

3. On *nam-ra ṣi-it* "new moon," cf. Jastrow *Religion* I, 440, note 3.

6. On *ṣa-ad-du* "sign," or "omen," cf. *ibid*, II, 449, note 5.

^{d}Sin entu(NIN-DINGIR-RA) i-ri-iš ki-a-am it-ta-šú ù pu-ru-us-su-šu
a-na-ku ^{md}Na-bi-um-na-'-id ri-e-a-am pa-li-iḫ i-lu-ti-šu
ki-bi-it-su ki-it-tim ap-la-aḫ at-ta-'-it-ma
aš-šum e-ri-eš enti(NIN-DINGIR-RA) ra-šú-tu ni-ki-it-tim
aš-ra-a-ti ^{d}Šamaš ù ^{d}Adad bêlê^{meš} bi-ri aš-te-'-e-ma
^{d}Šamaš ù ^{d}Adad an-na ki-i-nu i-tap-pa-lu-in-ni
i-na bi-ri-ia iš-ṭu-ru šîri da-mi-iq-tum
šîri e-ri-iš-ti na-da-a-ti e-ri-iš-ti ilâni^{meš} a-na amêlûti
aš-ni-ma te-ir-tum ap-qi-id-ma šîra dumqa(ŠIG) e-li sa maḫ-ri i-tap-pa-lu-ni
aš-šu mârâti^{meš} ki-im-ti-ia te-ir-tum e-pu-uš-ma ul-la i-tap-pa-lu-ni
aš-lu-uš-ma aš-šu mârti ṣi-it lib-bi-ia
te-ir-tum e-pu-uš-ma šîra dumqa(ŠIG) i-tap-pa-lu-in-ni
a-ma-at ^{d}Sin bêlu šú-ur-bu-ú ilu ba-a-ni-ia
ki-bi-it ^{d}Šamaš ù ^{d}Adad bêlê^{meš} bi-ri at-ta-'-it-ma
mârtu ṣi-it lib-bi-ia a-na e-nu-ti aš-ši-ma
Bêl-ša-al-ṭi-^{d}Nannar šú-um-ša am-bi
aš-šu iš-tu ûmê^{meš} ru-qu-tim pa-ra-aṣ bêl-ti ba-šú-ú-ma
la ud-du-u ši-ki-in-šú û-mi-ša-am uš-ta-ad-da-an
a-da-an-nu ik-šú-da-am-ma up-ta-at-ta-a-ni babê^{meš}
ap-pa-li-is-ma ^{abnu}narû la-bi-ri šá ^{d}Na-bi-um-ku-dur-ri-u-ṣur
mâr ^{md}Enmaštu na-din-šu-mi šarru pa-na ma-aḫ-ra-a
šá ṣa-lam enti(NIN-DINGIR-RA) ba-aš-mu ṣi-ru-uš-šú
si-ma-a-ti-šú lu-bu-uš-ta-šú ù ti-ik-ni-šú
it-ti-i iš-ṭu-ru-ma a-na E-gi-pár ú-še-ri-bu
dup-pa-nu ù li'û^{meš} labirûti^{meš} at-ta-ṣi da-al-ba
ki-ma la-bi-ri-im-ma e-pu-uš
^{abnu}narû si-ma-ti-šú ù ú-na-a-at bîti-šú
e-eš-ši-iš ab-ni ṣi-ru-uš-šú aš-ṭu-ur-ma
ma-ḫar ^{d}Sin ù ^{d}Nin-gal bêlê^{meš}-e-a ú-ki-in
i-nu-šú E-gi-pár ku-um-mi el-lu a-šar pa-ra-aṣ e-nu-tim
uš-šum la-lu ki-ri-ib-šú
a-šar-šú na-di-ma e-mi kar-mi-iš
^{iš}a-la-mi-it-tim in-bi ṣi-ip-pa-a-tim a-ṣu-ú qir-bu-uš-šú

14. On *bi-ri* "divination," cf. *ibid*, II, pp. 11–20.
15. On *an-na ki-i-nu* cf. *ibid*, II, p. 152, note 1.
28. *Up-ta-at-ta-a-ni* = II 2 from *patû* "to open."

ak-ši-id-ma iṣ-ṣi e-pi-ri ka-ar-mi-šú as-su-uḫ
bît ap-pa-li-is-ma ud-da-a te-me-en-šú
ši-ti-ir šú-mi šá šarrâni^{meš} maḫ-ri la-bi-ru-tim ap-pa-li-is qir-bu-uš-šu
II. *mu-sar-ú la-bi-ri ša EN-AN-E-UL enti (NIN-DINGIR-RA) Urû^{ki}*
mârat Ku-du-ur-Ma-bu-ug a-ḫa-at Ri-im-Sin šar Urû^{ki}
šá E-gi-pár uš-ši-šú-ma a-na aš-ri-šú ú-te-ir-ru
a-na i-te-e E-gi-pár dûr e-li ma-aja-al enâti(NIN-DINGIR-RA)^{meš}
labirâti^{meš} il-mu-ú
ap-pa-li-is-ma E-gi-pár ki-ma la-bi-ri-im-ma e-eš-ši-iš e-pu-uš
parakkê^{meš}-šú ù uṣurâti^{meš}-šú ki-ma la-bi-ri-im-ma e-eš-ši-iš ab-ni
a-na i-te-e E-gi-pár bît Bêl-ša-al-ṭi-^{d}Nannar mârti-ia
enti(NIN-DINGIR-RA) ^{d}Sin e-eš-ši-iš e-pu-uš
mârtu ul-li-il-ma a-na ^{d}Sin ù ^{d}Nin-gal bêlê^{meš}-e-a aš-ru-uq
i-na ši-bi-ir âšipu(KA-AZAG-GAL)-ú-tim i-ši-ip-pu-ut-su e-pu-uš-ma
a-na E-gi-pár ú-še-ri-ib
sa-at-tuk-ki E-gi-pár ú-da-aḫ-ḫi-id
eqlê^{meš} kirêti^{meš} aštapiru alpê(LID-GUD)^{zun} ù ṣenê^{meš} u-da-aš-ši-šú
dûr ma-aja-al enâti^{meš} labirâti^{meš}
ki-ma la-ba-ri-im-ma e-eš-ši-iš al-mi
bîti šú-a-ti a-na ma-aṣ-ṣa-ar-tim dan-na-tim aš-ku-un-šú
ni-nu-šú-šá ^{d}Sin ù ^{d}Ningal bêlê^{meš}-e-a
sa-at-tuk-ki-šú-nu e-li šá pa-na ú-da-aḫ-ḫi-id
mi-im-ma šum-šú in E-giš-šir-gal ú-da-aš-ši
ša û-mi 3 immeru e-li išten(-en) immeru gi-na-a la-bi-ri
a-na ^{d}Sin ù ^{d}Nin-gal bêlê^{meš}-e-a lu ú-ki-in
bu-ša-a ma-ak-ku-ru ki-ri-ib E-giš-šìr-gál ú-da-aš-ši
aš-šum bur-sag-gi-e ul-lu-li-im-ma ḫi-ṭi-ti la ra-še-e
ra-am-ku-ut E-giš-šìr-gál ù bîtâti^{meš} ilâni^{meš}
e-nu i-šib-bi ZABAR-DIB-BA ^{amêl}barû ^{amêl}EN-GI-ṢU
^{amêl}a-ri-ru ^{amêl}rab bânu ^{amêl}bânû ^{amêl}DUL-ŠÁM-ḪA îtû(NI-GAB) gal-lum
^{amêl}ti-ir-bit ^{amêl}la-ga-ru ša-ki-nu tak-ri-ib-ti
^{amêl}zammêrê^{meš} mu-ḫa-ad-du-ú lib-bi ilâni^{meš}
^{amêl}ki-ni-iš-tum šú-ud-na-bu-ú šú-ma-an-šú-un

II 26. ^{h}*KUL-LUM* = *barû*, cf. B 1687. In a list of this kind one would expect to see the *barû* "seer" or "inspector."

26. *EN-GI-ṢU* may have been the chief psalmist; *GI-ṢU* = *kalû*.

28. ^{h}*Ti-ir-bit* "custodian," cf. the Syrian תרבת

30. The *kiništu* priest is mentioned in Neriglissor, *KB* III 2, 78.

i-li-ik-šú-nu ap-ṭu-ur-ma šú-bar-ra-šú-nu aš-ku-un
ub-bi-ib-šú-nu-ti-ma
a-na ^{d}Sin ù ^{d}Nin-gal bêlê^{meš}-e-a ú-zak-ki-šú-nu-ti
^{d}Sin ilu el-lu bêl a-gi-i nu-ur te-ni-še-e-ti
ilu šú-ur-bu-ú ša ki-bi-it-su ki-na-at
a-na e-ib-še-ti-ia li-iḫ-du-ma li-ir-a-am šar-ru-ti
ba-la-ṭam da-er-a še-bi-e li-it-tu-tu a-na ši-ri-iq-tim liš-ru-qam
a-a ú-šá-ab-ša-a ša-ni-nu ma-ḫi-ri a-a ar-ši
e-ma arḫi liš-tap-pa i-da-a-ti du-um-qi-ia
a-gi-e šar-ru-ti-ia a-na da-er-a-tim lu-ki-in ra-šú-ú-a
^{iš}kussi be-lu-ti-ia šú-ur-ši-id a-na aḫ-ra-a-tu ûmê^{meš}
e-ma arḫi i-na i-te-íd-du-ši-ka
ṣa-ad-da-ka da-mi-iq-tim gi-na-a lu-ut-tap-la-as
^{d}Nin-gal bêltu šur-bu-tum ma-ḫa-ar-ki li-ta-ba-a damiq(ŠIG)-tim
Bêl-ša-al-ṭi-^{d}Nannar mârat na-ra-am-ti lib-bi-ia
ma-ḫa-ar-šú-nu li-bur-ma li-kun qi-bi-is-su
e-ip-še-tu-šú li-ṭi-ba entu ku-un
a-a ir-ša-a ḫi-ṭi-ti

TRANSLATION.

I. When Nannar, the inspirer of the *entu* (votary),
the sublime son of the *giskim* (oracle-tree?), who is the revealer of signs,
the god, glorious in rising, declared his trustworthy decree
for Nabonidus, king of Babylon, the caretaker of Esagila and Ezida,
the reverent shepherd, who cares for the shrines of the great gods;
Nannar, the lord of the disc, the bearer of signs for the people,
revealed his omen. On account of the desire of the *entu,*
in Elul, on the 13th day, the month of the mission of the *aštarti,*
the goddess of increase was aroused, and greatly awakened joy.
Sin inspired the *entu* votary, according to his omen and decision.
I, Nabonidus, the shepherd who fears his divinity,
reverenced his reliable command, and exalted (it); and
because of the desire of the *entu,* being possessed with emotion,
I gave attention to the shrines of Shamash and Adad, the lords of divina-
Shamash and Adad answered me with a favorable decision. [tion, and
In my divination they wrote a favorable oracle;
an oracle of supreme approval, the approval of the gods for man.

I repeated it, and I inspected the portent, and they gave me a more favorable oracle than before.
For the sake of the daughters of my family I performed an augury, and they gave me an unfavorable oracle.
I asked a third time, and on behalf of my own daughter
performed an augury, and they gave me a favorable answer.
The word of Sin, the majestic lord, the god, my creator,
the command of Shamash and Adad, the lords of divination, I exalted;
I dedicated my own daughter to the *entu* (office). [and
Bêl-shalṭi-Nannar I announced her name.
Since from remote times there was a command of the lady, and
its execution was not known, daily I observed (it).
The appointed time arrived, and the gates were opened.
I looked, and an ancient memorial tablet of Nebuchadnezzar,
son of Enmashtu-nâdin-shum, a royal predecessor,
upon which he had fashioned the likeness of an *entu*,
her insignia, her clothing, and her ornaments;
the sides they inscribed, and placed in E-gi-par.
The ancient tablets and documents I brought out. The damaged place
I restored to its former state.
A memorial tablet with her insignia and the furniture(?) of her house,
(which) I made anew, upon it I wrote, and
placed before Sin and Nikkal, my lords.
At that time, E-gi-par, a bright habitation, the place of the edicts of the
the splendid foundation (i. e. floor) within it, [*enûtu* office
its place was destroyed, and had become like a ruin.
A scaffold(?) *inbu*, timber, *aṣu* within it
I brought, and the wood, the dirt of its ruins, I cleared out.
The house I examined, and exposed its foundation.
The writing of the name (i. e. inscriptions) of former ancient kings I
II. An ancient cylinder of EN-AN-E-UL, an *entu* of Ur, [saw in it.
the daughter of Kudur-Mabug, the sister of Rim-Sin, king of Ur,
which in E-gi-par they had established, I restored to its place.
At the side of E-gi-par a wall over the ancient *majal* (resting place) of
they had constructed around it, [the *entu*
I examined; and E-gi-par, as of old, I constructed.
Its shrines and its appurtenances, as formerly, I built anew.

At the side of E-gi-par, the house of Bêl-shalṭi-Nannar, my daughter,
the *entu* of Sin, I constructed anew.
The daughter I purified, and dedicated to Sin and Nikkal, my lords.
For the service of divination I established her office of divination,
and brought her into E-gi-par.
Fixed offerings of E-gi-par I provided in abundance.
With fields, parks, servants, oxen and sheep, I enriched it.
the wall of the *majal* (resting place) of the ancient votaries,
as it was of old, I constructed around it anew.
That house like a strong fortress I built it.
At that time for Sin and Nikkal, my lords,
their fixed offerings I increased more than before.
Everything of its kind I made abundant in Egishshirgal.
Every day three sheep as against one sheep, the old fixed offering,
for Sin and Nikkal, my lords, verily I provided.
Endowments, possessions, within Egishshirgal, I made abundant.
In order to sanctify the *bursaggu,* and that they may not incur sin,
the purification of Egishshirgal and the chapels of the gods,
the *enu,* priest of the bronze *dibba,* the seer, the *engiṣu,*
the imprecator, the chief builder, the builder, the *dul-laḫ-ḫa* the overseer
of the *gallum* (psalmist(?))
the custodian, the *lagaru,* the priest who institutes supplications,
the singers, who rejoice the hearts of the gods,
the *kinishtu* priest, the *shudnabū,* their obligations,
their taxes, I remitted; and their income I established.
I purified them, and
for Sin and Nikkal, my lords, I sanctified them.
May Sin, the bright god, the lord of the disc, the light of mankind,
the majestic god, whose word is constant,
rejoice over my deeds, and love my sovereignty.
May he grant long life, plenty of descendants for a gift.
May I not have an equal; may I not have a rival.
During the month may he assist the forces of my piety.
May he establish the coronet of my royalty forever on my head.
Establish the throne of my lordship for future days.
During the month in my renovating,
may I behold thy favorable (and) firm omen.

O Nikkal, powerful lady, let the pious act come before thee.
May Bêl-shalṭi-Nannar, the beloved daughter of my heart,
be strong before them, and may her command prevail.
May her deeds be good, a faithful votary;
may she not commit sin.

Nos. 46–51. The Babylonian Sabbath.

In a large archive of temple documents in the Yale Collection, discovered at Warka, the ancient city of Erech, there is found a group of twenty-three tablets, containing monthly receipts of sheep, which were apparently intended for the temple service. Nearly all of the tablets are baked, and are more or less perfect. They are dated between the fifth year of Cyrus (534 B. C.), and the sixth year of Cambyses (523 B. C.), inclusive. The general character of the contents is so similar that the texts of only six of the lot are here published. The remainder, however, are considered in the discussion below. Moreover, it seemed unnecessary to transliterate and translate more than one of the six. The only one of the entire group, i. e. Text No. 50, which has an explanatory heading for the columns of figures, has been selected, and reads as follows:

TRANSLITERATION.

Immeru di-ka ù gu-uq-qu-u[1]
ša ul-tu bît ú-ru-ú ù la-pa-ni[2]
rê'û di-ku[3] *par-su*[4] *arḫu Nisannu šattu 5kan*
mKa-am-bu-zi-ia šar Bâbiliki šar mâtâti

[1] *Gu-uq-qu-u* interchanges with the sign *GUG-ú*. Since *GUG* has the value *niqû* (cf. Hrozny *ZA* XX, p. 429), it is quite reasonable to infer, in the light of these texts, that it also had the ideographic value *guqqû*.

[2] *La-pa-ni* interchanges with *pa-ni*, see Nos. 46 and 47, etc., and with *ina qât*.

[3] *rê'u di-ku* (usually *di-ka*) apparently is the head-slaughterer. Cf. the official names, *hrê'u sattukki* Strassmaier *Nabonidus* 296:3, written *rê'u gi-ni-e*, *ibid*, 20:7.

[4] The reading and rendering *par-su* is given with reserve. The only variation of this word in all the tablets is in No. 48, where *nadna*(*SE-na*) or *iddina* is written.

Cf. other notes as in Text No. 47:9, *ina libbi 1 a-na bît dul-lu* "Out of it one for the work house." Line 15 reads, *ina libbi 1 immeru buḫadu 7 immerêmeš a-na ni-pi-šu ša li-li-si erî*. Line 20 reads, *ina libbi 8 ina eli ni-pi-šu ša li-li-si urîsu ṣiḫru ḫi-it-pi*. What *ni-pi-šu ša li-li-si erî* means is not clear. No. 48:30 reads, *ina libbi 1 a-na E-bar-ra* "Out of it 1 for Ebarra." *YBC*, No 3964 contains the note following the 2nd day: *ina libbi 7 ka-lum laḫ-rat ina babême;* also after the 3rd day: *ina libbi 6 nu-uk-ku-su*. Following the 14th day the note reads: *2 ana dŠI-DU u dBêlit bît ili 1 ina muḫḫi šu-kut-tum*.

5	*ú-ru-ú*	*paq-ri*	*rê'û di-ku*	*paq-ri*	
	9		5		*ûmu 1^{kan}*
	5		5	1	*ûmu 2^{kan}*
	5		4		*ûmu 3^{kan}*
	5		4		*ûmu 4^{kan}*
10	6		4		*ûmu 5^{kan}*
	5		4		*ûmu 6^{kan}*
	6		4		*ûmu 7^{kan} 1 ḫi-it-pi*
	5		4		*ûmu 8^{kan}*
	5		4		*ûmu 9^{kan}*
15	5		4		*ûmu 10^{kan}*
	5		4		*ûmu 11^{kan}*
	5		4		*ûmu 12^{kan}*
	5		4		*ûmu 13^{kan}*
	6		4	1	*ûmu 14^{kan} 1 ḫi-it-pi*
20	6		4		*ûmu 15^{kan}*
	6		4		*ûmu 16^{kan}*
	5		4		*ûmu 17^{kan}*
	5		4		*ûmu 18^{kan}*
	5		4		*ûmu 19^{kan}*
25	5		4		*ûmu 20^{kan}*
	5		4		*ûmu 21^{kan} 1 ḫi-it-pi*
	5		4		*ûmu 22^{kan}*
	5		4		*ûmu 23^{kan}*
	5		4		*ûmu 24^{kan}*
30	5		4		*ûmu 25^{kan}*
	5		4	1	*ûmu 26^{kan}*
	5		4		*ûmu 27^{kan}*
	5		4		*ûmu 28^{kan} 1 ḫi-it-pi*
	5		4		*ûmu 29^{kan}*
35	5		4		*ûmu 30^{kan}*

TRANSLATION.

The opening lines of the tablet read: "Sheep (which are for) slaughter and sacrifice, which from the stable and from the head-butcher, are set apart. Nisan, year 5th of Cambyses, King of Babylon, King of countries."

At the head of the four columns are found the words: "stable | claim |

head-butcher | claim |." Nearly all the tablets have four columns for figures, although in some, as in No. 47, the totals are given in the first column, and the rest are unused. No. 46 is the only one that has three columns, but the *paqri* for the first column are written as notes following the day of the month. Doubtless, the arrangement providing for four columns was adhered to from custom. Several of the tablets have a much larger number on the 8th day; as for example, Nos. 46, 47, and 51 have 60, 61, and 57, respectively. YBC, No. 3966 has 72 on the 8th day. It is to be regretted that more details concerning the exact significance of these tablets are not given.

The important feature of these lists seems to be the item following certain days of the month, usually the 7th, 14th, 21st, and 28th, which reads *1 urîṣu ṣiḫru ḫi-it-pi* "one young kid, an offering," or simply *1 ḫi-it-pi,* "one offering." The writer does not know of any other occurrence of the word *ḫitpi* in the cuneiform language, but it is probably the same as חתפי a word found in an Aramaic inscription on an oblong vessel used for libation purposes, discovered in the Serapaeum at Memphis. The word has been read *ḫotpi,* and is translated "offering"[5] and is regarded as an Egyptian loan word.[6] Since the inscription is Aramaic, although found in Egypt, it is not improbable that *ḫitpi* of these texts is the same. This may seem somewhat precarious, yet it is a natural inference, for the word also seems to mean "offering" or "sacrifice." This being true, the vowels, which are not given in the Egyptian and the Aramaic, can be supplied.

Text No. 48, instead of adding the word in the usual manner on the reverse, contains a line written lengthwise, probably because the scribe had not allowed himself sufficient space: *2 urîṣu ṣiḫru ul-tu bît ûrî a-na 2 us(uṣ) . . . na-din.* Unfortunately, the only word in all these texts which might have thrown light on *ḫitpi* has been injured.

As stated above, the characteristic place for the usual note, "one kid (for) an offering" is after the days: 7, 14, 21, and 28. Nine of the tablets conform to this; the rest contain variations. On one tablet the offerings are made on days: 6, 14, 21, and 28; on two: 6, 14, 21, and 27; on three: 6, 13, 20, and 27; on one: 6, 13, 20, and 26; on one: 6, 13, 21, with the fourth omitted; on one: 6, second omitted, 21, and 27; on one: 7, 14, 21, and 27; on one: 6, 13, with note; on one: 7, 13, with third and fourth omitted; and one is without any notes. The

[5] Cf. Lidzbarski *Handbuch,* p. 282; and Cook *North Semitic Inscriptions,* p. 202.

[6] Professor W. M. Müller kindly informs me that *ḫtp* is old Egyptian, and means "offering," literally, "something to quiet." Moreover, cf. *aḫ-ta-ti-ip* "I cut down, or destroyed." *BA* II, p. 628, and *taḫtipu* "oppression."

above shows that the largest number of these notes, "one kid (for) an offering," namely, 49, occur on the days: 7, 14, 21, and 28; while with the exception of but one, the remainder, namely, 28, occur one day earlier. The single exception occurs two days earlier, upon the 26th of the month. In no instance does it follow this periodical seventh day. There can be but little doubt that the regularly appointed time for this offering was on the 7th, 14th, 21st, and 28th days; but it was occasionally made upon the previous day. As is well known, the sabbath among the Hebrews at the present time begins shortly after sunset on the sixth day. It might be added that the number of days in the month do not seem to have had any bearing upon these variations.

These tablets, with this interesting phenomenon, furnish the first actual observance of anything that suggests the existence of a parallel to the sabbath in Babylonia; and has an important bearing upon the question, which has been frequently discussed, as to whether the Babylonians did observe such a day. As is well known, most divergent views have been expressed by scholars upon this subject. Some hold that the Hebrew sabbath had its origin in Babylonia, and other that the observance of such a sacred occasion was carried into that country by Semites from the West.[7] It is not the purpose of the writer to discuss the question here, except to refer to the material from the inscriptions, upon which these conclusion are based, and to add, in the light of the new data, one or two inferences.

There has been known from a lexicographical text for a long time, the equation *ûm nu-uḫ lib-bi=ša-bat-tum* (*CT* 18, 23:17), which was translated "day of rest of the heart=shabattum." This word was regarded by many scholars as the name of the day mentioned in the Hemerology, referred to below, in which certain duties were prescribed for the king on the 7th, 14th, 19th, 21st, and 28th days of the month. Subsequently the equation was determined to mean not a rest day for man, but the day of the appeasement of the heart of the gods, as it was found in appeals to displeased deities. More recently it was shown that *shabattum,* which was a synonym of *gamâru* "to be full," was the name of the 15th days of the month, when the moon was full, and had nothing to do with the days mentioned in the Hemerology.[8] It is, however, still maintained that this Babylonian *shabattum* or *shapattum* is the origin of the Hebrew sabbath. In this the writer does not acquiesce. The fact that there is no root in Assyrian from which *shabattum* as a synonym of the root *gamâru,* "to com-

[7] See Clay *Amurru, the Home of the Northern Semites,* p. 55 f.
[8] Pinches *Proc. Soc. Bib. Arch.* 1904, p. 51 f.

plete, to fulfill, to bring to an end, to destroy'' can be derived, and there is in the Western and Southern groups of Semitic languages a root from which the word sabbath is derived, namely, שבת ''to cut off, to desist, to put an end to, to destroy,'' seems a very substantial argument for maintaining that the name of the fifteenth day of the month was of West Semitic origin, and not vice versa.

Recently the view has been advanced that originally the Hebrew sabbath was also the time of the full moon, i. e., on the 15th day, and that the use of it for the end of the week was introduced later. With this question we are not here directly concerned, but if it should prove correct, the observance of the day was carried to Babylonia at an early time which was prior to the adoption of the term ''sabbath'' for the quarters of the month.

There has been known for a long time what has been called the Hemerology for the months Second Elul and Marchesvan,[9] in which on the 7th, 14th, 21st, 19th, and 28th days, certain duties were prescribed for the king, diviner, physician, and imprecator. Although this has been frequently translated, in view of the bearing it has on the new find, it it is here again translated: ''An evil day. The shepherd of great peoples shall not eat flesh cooked over coals of an oven; he shall not change the garment of his body; he shall not put on clean (clothes); a sacrifice he shall not offer; the king shall not ride in his chariot; he shall not speak as a king; the diviner shall not give a decision in the secret place; the physician shall not lay his hand upon the sick; it is not suitable to pronounce a curse. At night, the king shall bring his gift before Marduk and Ishtar; he shall offer a sacrifice. The lifting up of his hands is pleasing to the god.''

This, as has been pointed out frequently, contains most interesting parallels to the restrictions for the sabbath day which are known from the Old Testament. But especially interesting is it, as well as the new find, in the light of the directions given by Ezekiel to be observed by the prince on behalf of the nation; namely, that on the sabbath he shall offer unto the Lord six lambs and a ram (46:4). It, of course, cannot be said that the tablets under consideration refer to provision being made for the animal that was to be offered by the king, which is mentioned in the Hemerology on these days; but they do show that one was actually provided on these days in addition to the regular offerings for each day of the month. The 19th day, mentioned in the same connection in the Hemerology, is not included among the days upon which this offering was made.

[9] Rawlinson IV 2, 32 and 33.

The Hemerology, as is known, makes no provision for the common people to observe these days. As has been frequently pointed out, one need only examine the dates in the indices of volumes containing contracts, to demonstrate the fact that the general activities of life were not interrupted on these days. And it might be added that the same is true for the 15th day of the month, or *shabattum*. Moreover, there is nothing in the contract literature, in the law codes, in the religious texts, or in fact in any text which points to a cessation from labor by the people. This idea does not seem to have been imported from the West.

As is known, there were those in the ancient Jewish church, and there are those who at the present maintain that the sabbath originally belonged to the lunar month, instead of occurring as it now does, in a succession of seven days, or at the end of the week. One is impressed with this view when he reflects upon how the entire system of feasts, new moons, sabbaths, and solemn assemblies were coupled up with the lunar month, and the way the new moon and the sabbaths are frequently mentioned together (Is. 1:13; Amos 8:5, etc.).

The somberness and austereness of these days in the Hemerology, at least as regards the provisions for the individuals referred to, can be paralleled by ideas pertaining to the Hebrew sabbath. While it was pre-eminently a day of rest, and was regarded as a day of joy, there are also indications that it was an austere occasion, especially in the early history of the people. It was not only a day when sacrifices were offered, but also a day when the people were forbidden to leave their homes (Ex. 16:29); to kindle fires (Ex. 35:3); and, therefore, not to eat anything cooked on fire (Ex. 16:23).[10] While the critical position is, that in the late days of Jewry these restrictions were introduced into the history of the early period, that is simply a hypothesis, and cannot be proved. Rather does it seem that these ideas are a survival of an early period. And that they were introduced into Babylonia and Assyria, is but another indication of the influence of the West upon those lands. In short, it is maintained that at some time the old order was changed, which was that the sabbath occurred at the end of the quarters of the moon, when the moon seems to the observer to come to a standstill. As is well known, the actual quarters of the lunar month are about 7⅜ days long. It is, therefore, easy to understand how the seventh day, the fourteenth day, etc., were set apart as the time to celebrate the sabbath. The observance of these days in Babylonia, as is evidenced by the Hemerology and the tablets here published, seems to indicate that in the

[10] Jastrow *Hebrew and Babylonian Traditions*, p. 168.

West, whence the custom very probably came, the sabbath was earlier also celebrated at the same time, i. e., on the 7th, 14th, 21st and 28th days, instead of every seventh day or at the end of the week.

No. 52. Building Inscription of the Seleucid Era, 244 B. C.

This cylinder inscription is the first of its kind belonging to the Seleucid era that has been published. The work which the cylinder commemorates was done by a Babylonian named Anu-uballiṭ, who had been given the Greek name Nikiqarqusu. Anu-uballiṭ, who was of the well known Erechian family Aḫ'utu, is referred to in the legal documents from Erech, written prior to this event, under his Babylonian name.[1] In subsequent documents there is a certain Nikarqusu (Νίκαρχος)[2] of the same family, namely, Aḫ'utu (see *BRM* II, p. 71), who apparently was the same individual, although the name is written somewhat differently. The inscription informs us that the Greek name had been given this Babylonian by Antiochus, the former king. He was the *shanû,* of Erech, or the second in command, perhaps the prefect of the city. There are a number of instances known of individuals assuming a second name. Even some bearing Babylonian names in this period changed them to other Babylonian names (see *BRM* II, p. 16).

The special value of the inscription is to be found in the names of gates and shrines, particularly that of the gods Anum and Antum, which was called *Ezienna.* The name of the ancient temple of Erech, namely, E-an-na, is not found in the inscription. The suggestion which the writer made in connection with the legal documents of this period, that perhaps the old fane was to be recognized in Bît-rêsh, which occurs quite frequently in those texts, seems to find support in the present text, where Bît-rêsh is the temple of Anum and Antum; and yet the name *bît-rêsh* appears in the tenth line, in a list of buildings or parts of the temple, namely *bît dûri, bît rêsh, bît dullu* and *bît papaḫi.* It would seem perhaps that *bît-rêsh* had been the name of the chief building of the precinct, as indicated in line ten, and in the late period it displaced E-an-na as the name of the entire complex.

The cylinder is dated in the month Nisan of the 68th year of Seleucus (II), which would be 244 B. C., and is intended to commemorate work done for the

[1] Cf. Clay *Babylonian Records in the Library of J. P. Morgan,* II, p. 53.

[2] The absence in the Greek nomenclature, as far as the writer knows, of anything nearer than this name suggests the idea that it has been poorly reproduced in this text.

lives of the kings Antiochus and Seleucus. This raises the question to which Antiochus does it refer, since Antiochus II (Theos), the predecessor of Seleucus II, according to Eusebius, died in the 66th year of the era (246 B. C.). The dated Babylonian documents, as shown by the writer (see *BRM* II, p. 13), confirm the date that is generally given, when the change in the reign took place; i. e., the last tablet dated in the reign of Antiochus II, thus far found, belongs to the 65th year; and the first of the reign of Seleucus II, is dated on the 22nd of Sivan, of the 67th year. It is scarcely possible that the name Antiochus could refer to the son of Berenice, his Egyptian wife; who at the death of Antiochus II, proclaimed her son king, at Antioch, both mother and son being killed a little later. Laodice, his first wife, as is well known, proclaimed her young son, as king, at Ephesus. There was still a younger son, named Antiochus. Years later, in his extremity, Seleucus entreated Antiochus to cross the Taurus, and assist him; showing independent authority of the latter. This seems to be confirmed by an inscription, giving a list of offerings to the temple Branchindae, made by the kings Seleucus and Antiochus, who are regarded the same as those under consideration, by some scholars. Later, it is found, that Antiochus Hierax, as he was called, supported by Laodice, his mother, endeavored to wrest the rule from his brother, but eventually lost his life, not long before the death of Seleucus. The question for the historian of this period to determine is, why did Anu-uballiṭ (Nikarqusu), shortly after Seleucus was acknowledged king, as the date of the document indicates, dedicate his work on the temple at Erech, for the life of both, Antiochus and Seleucus, whom he calls kings, and whose names appear in a reversed order.

TRANSLITERATION.

arḫu Nisannu šattu 68kan mSi-lu-ku šar mdAnu-uballiṭ apil mdAnu-iq-ṣur apil
mAḫ-'-ú-tu
amêlša-nu ša Urukki ša mAn-ti-'-i-ku-su šar mâtâtimeš
mNi-ki-qa-ar-qu-su šumi-šu ša-nu-ú iš-kun-nu
bît ri-eš bît dAnum ù An-tum ká-maḫ bâbu rabu-ú man-za-za dPap-sukal
ni-ri-bu bît ri-eš bâbu rabû man-za-za dNusku bâbu ni-ri-bu
2 bâbânimeš ša a-na id-di šadû pitû(BAD-ú)
ká-ḫe-en-gál-la bâb mu-še-ri-i ḫi-ṣib šadi-i
napḫar 3 bâbâni ša a-na ká-an-na pitû(BAD-ú) 7 bît tarbaṣêmeš
id-di bît tarbaṣu ša bara-nam-meš ina lib-bi nadû (ŠUB-u)
bît dûri bît ri-eš bît dul-lumeš bît pa-pa-ḫimeš ša ilânimeš rabûtimeš

ù bît tarbaṣê^{meš}-šu-nu êpuš(-uš)-ma ú-šak-lil
daltê^{meš} iṣ-ṣi i-ri-šu ṭâbu êpuš(-uš)-ma ina sip-pi^{meš}-šu ú-rit-ti
ki-il-li-li bîti ilmi (NIGIN-mi)
sik-kur ḫurâṣu šibbu(MIR) ḫurâṣu êpuš(-uš)-ma ina ká-maḫ a-na ká-an-na šakin(GAR)-nu
a-na bul-ṭa ša ^{m}An-ti-'-i-ku-su u ^{m}Si-lu-ku šarrâni^{meš} êpuš(-uš)-ma u-šak-lil
^{arḫu}Nisannu ûmu 8^{kan} ^{d}A-num ù An-tum ušêrib (TU)-ma
ina ê-zi-en-na bît pa-pa-ḫi ina šub-ti-šu-nu
a-na da-ra-a-tu ú-šib-bi gi-nu-ú sat-tuk-ku
ki-ma maḫ-ri-im-ma ú-kin-in-ni ki-rib-šu

TRANSLATION.

The month Nisan, year 68th of Seleucus, king, Anu-uballiṭ, son of Anu-iqṣur, son of Aḫ'utu,
the *shanû* (second officer) of Erech, whom Antiochus, king of countries,
gave as his second name, Nikiqurqusu,
of Bît-rêsh, the house of Anum and Antum, *ka-maḫ*, the great gate of the place of Pap-sukal,
the entrance to Bît-rêsh, the great gate of the place of Nusku, the entrance-gate;
(i. e.) two gates, which open towards the south side,
ka-ḫe-en-gal-la,[1] the gate which brings the rich produce of the mountains;
total three gates, which open towards *Ka-an-na;* seven courts
were placed on the side of the court of the *bara-nam-mesh* (or oracle chambers);
the precinct wall, Bît-rêsh, the service building, and the shrines of the great gods
and their courts (Anu-uballiṭ) made, and finished.
Doors of good fragrant wood he made, and in its threshold he placed.
He surrounded the house with a cornice.
A gold bolt and a gold band he made, and placed in *ka-maḫ* for *Ka-an-na,*
for the life of Antiochus and Seleucus, kings, he made and finished.
On Nisan, eighth day, he caused Anum and Antum to enter, and

[1] *Ká-ḫe-en-gál-la* "gate of abundance." King has kindly called my attention to the names and titles of the gates of Nineveh, *CT* XXVI, p. 18 f., where the seventh gate, named *Abul ^{mât}Ḫa-tam-ḫi,* bears a title with a parallel meaning to *me-še-ri-i* (III 1, Part ורה) *ḫi-ṣib šadi-i,* namely, *ba-bi-lat ḫi-ṣib ḫur-ša-a-ni.*

in *E-zi-en-na* the shrine, in their dwelling place,
forever he made dwell. Sacrifices (and) offerings,
as formerly, he established in it.

No. 53. The Yale Syllabary.

This syllabary, which contains more than a hundred different signs, gives in the first column the Sumerian values; in the second, the sign to be explained; in the third, the name of the sign; and in the fourth, the Semitic value corresponding to the Sumerian value in the first column. Although it partially duplicates tablets and fragments which have been published, it contains a number of hither unknown signs, with their values, besides correcting several which have been imperfectly transcribed. But of special importance are the several hundred new values in Sumerian and Babylonian, not to mention the names of the signs, about three score of which appear here for the first time.

THE YALE SYLLABARY.

1	[𒀀]	[a-a-u]	[*ba*]-*da-qu*
2 [a] (*B* 11324)	𒀀	𒁹	[*a*]-*bu* (*B* 11324)
3	𒀀	𒁹	. . . . *a*
4	𒀀	𒁹	[*k*]*a-ka-si-ga*
5 [me-e] (*B* 11347)	𒀀	𒁹	*mu-ú* (*B* 11347)
6 [a-a] (*B* 11347)	𒀀	𒁹	𒁹
7 [i-si-iš] (*B* 11712)	𒄿 𒋗	ša-a-a-ku-i-gi-i-gub	*ba-ku-ú* (*B* 11712)
8 [ir] (cf. *B* 11609)	𒄿 𒋗	𒁹 𒁹 𒁹	*di-im-tum* (cf. *B* 11609)
9 [i-si-iš] (*B* 11717)	[𒄿 𒋗]	𒁹 𒁹 𒁹	*ṣi-iḫ-tum* (*B* 11717)
10	[𒂗 𒈬]	𒁹 -ba-aṭ-ṭa- 𒁹	*a-gam-mu*
11	[𒀭 𒃲]	𒁹 -la-gar-gu-na 𒁹	*du-uš-šu-u ša mê nâri*
12	[𒀀 𒀀]	𒁹 -a-a- 𒁹	*ap-lum* (*DAL*[3] 314)
13	[𒀀 𒀀]	[𒁹] -ku-ú-a- 𒁹	*ḫa-la-qu* | *na-bu-tu* | *nar*?-*qu-u*
14	[𒀀]	za-zu-u	*ka-ka-si-ga*
15	[𒀀]	[𒁹]	*ṣa-ba-rum*
16	[𒀀]	[𒁹]	*a-mi-lu* (*SAI* 9000)
17 [lim-mu]	[𒀀]	[𒁹]	*ir-bi-ti* (cf. *B* 3782)
18	[𒄿 𒄿]	[ša-za-zu-ku]-i-gi-giš-pu-u-	kur-ra-i-gub | *šur-i-ni*
19 [gur] (*B* 10182)	[𒌆]	[la-g]ab-bu	*kab-ru* (*B* 10182) | *ra-bu-u* (*B* 10200)
20 [si . . .] (*SAI* 7673)	[𒌆]	𒁹	*ka-ka-si-ga* (*SAI* 7673)
21 [gur] (*B* 10183)	[𒌆]	𒁹	*kab-tum* (*B* 10183)
22 [gi . . .] (*SAI* 7696)	[𒌆]	𒁹	*ka-ra-ṣu* (cf. *SAI* 7696)
23 [ki-ir] (*B* 10195)	[𒌆]	𒁹	*na-gar-ru-ru* (*B* 10195)
24 [gi-rin] (*SAI* 7697)	[𒌆]	𒁹	*qi-ir-ṣu ša pa-ḫa-ru* (*SAI* 7697)
25 [gi-rim]	[𒌆]	𒁹	*el-lu*
26 [ni-mi-en]	[𒌆]	𒁹	*la-mu-u*
27 [ni-mi-en]	[𒌆]	𒁹	*sa-ḫa-ru*
28	[𒌆]	𒁹	*šu-ru-u* (cf. *SAI* 7702)
29 [el-lag]	[𒌆]	𒁹	[*kub*]-*bu-tu* (*B* 10188 | *pu-uk-ku* | *me-ik-ku* (B 10193) | *a-tar-tu*
30 [gi-rim]	[𒌆]	𒁹	*ša GI-RIN il-lu-ru*
31	[𒌆]	𒁹	[*a*]-*a-bu* (*SAI* 7638)
32 [el-lag?]	[𒌆]	𒁹	[*pa*]-*qu*
33 [ni-gin]	[𒌆]	𒁹	[*nap*]-*ḫa-ru* (*SAI* 7682)
34 [ni-gin] (*B* 10335)	[𒌆𒌆]	[la]-gab-na-bi	[𒁹] (*B* 10335)
35	[𒌆𒌆]	𒁹 𒁹	[𒁹]
36 [ni-gin] (*B* 10334)	[𒌆𒌆]	𒁹 𒁹	[*la*]-*mu-u* (*B* 10334)
37 [ni-gin] (*B* 10339)	[𒌆𒌆]	𒁹 𒁹	[*sa*]-*ḫa-ru* (*B* 10339)
38 [gi-gir] (*SAI* 7743)	[𒌆]	ša la-gab-ba-ku-baṭ-ṭa-i gub	*nar-kab-tu* (*SAI* 7743)

39 [gi-nar] (*SAI* 7872)		ŤŤ -di-li-te-na- ŤŤ	ŤŤ (*SAI* 7872)
40 [gi-nar] (*SAI* 7798)		ŤŤ -giš-pa- ŤŤ	ŤŤ (*SAI* 7798)
41 [bu-ru]		ŤŤ ŤŤ ŤŤ	*šú-tum*
42 [tu-ul] (*SAI* 7784)		ŤŤ ŤŤ ŤŤ	*is-su-u* (*SAI* 7784)
43 [ub]-(*SAI* 7786)		ŤŤ ŤŤ ŤŤ	*up-pu* (*SAI* 7786)
44 [ḫa-ab]		ŤŤ ŤŤ ŤŤ	*bu-'-šu*
45 [tu-ul] (*SAI* 7794)		ŤŤ ŤŤ ŤŤ	*ka-lak-ku* (*SAI* 7794)
46 [ga-šal] (*SAI* 7776)		ŤŤ -al-la- ŤŤ	ŤŤ (*SAI* 7776)
47 [ga-šal] (*SAI* 7826)		ŤŤ -ki-ka-a- ŤŤ	ŤŤ (*SAI* 7826)
48 gu-ru-un (*SAI* 7904)		la-gab- lim-mu-bi-i-gi-gub-	bu | *in-bi* (*SAI* 7904)
49 [a]m-bar (*SAI* 7844)		ša-la-gab-ba-ku-a-a-i-gub	*ap-pa-ru* (*SAI* 7844)
50 [s]u-ug (*B* 10310)		ŤŤ ŤŤ ŤŤ	*zu-zu-u* (*B* 10310)
51 a-a		ŤŤ ŤŤ ŤŤ	*i-sik-tu ša ^{iš}suklu* (*SUKLUM*) *šu-ma*
52 aš-te (*SAI* 7846)		ŤŤ ŤŤ ŤŤ	*aš-te âlu* (*URU-KI*)
53 bu-ni-in (*B* 10304)		ŤŤ ŤŤ ŤŤ	*bu-nin-nu ša mê^{meš}* (*B* 10304)
54 bu-gín		ŤŤ -nin-da- ŤŤ	*bu-gín-nu ša a-ka-lu*
55 ú-maḫ (*B* 10279)		ŤŤ -giš-pa-a-a- ŤŤ	*mi-iḫ-ṣu* (*B* 10279)
56 ú-mun (*B* 10278)		ŤŤ ŤŤ ŤŤ	*ḫa-am-mu ša mê^{meš}* (*B* 10278)
57 [i] (*SAI* 7734)		ŤŤ -ḫal-la- ŤŤ	*na-a-rum* (*SAI* 7734)
58 [i-id] (*SAI* 7735)		ŤŤ ŤŤ ŤŤ	^{d}*Nâru* (*SAI* 7735)
59 [en-gur] (*SAI* 7733)		ŤŤ ŤŤ ŤŤ	*ap-su-ú* (*SAI* 7733)
60 [nam-mu] *SAI* 7735)		ŤŤ ŤŤ ŤŤ	^{d}*Nâru* (?) (*SAI* 7735)
61 [si-ir] (*B* 10231)		ŤŤ -mu-ḫal-dim-nu-til-la ŤŤ	*it-tu-u* (*B* 10231)
62 [ku-nin] (*B* 10232)		ŤŤ ŤŤ ŤŤ	*ku-nin-nu ša qanî* (*B* 10232)
63		ŤŤ -da-ra- ŤŤ	*na-ḫal-lum* (*SAI* 7751)
64		ŤŤ ŤŤ ŤŤ	*šú-ut-ta-tum* (*SAI* 7752)
65 [a-gar] (*CT* 12, 26 : 36)		ŤŤ -i-gi-gu-na ŤŤ	*ú-ga-rum*
66 [a-gar] (*SAI* 7870)		ŤŤ -a-a-nin-da- ŤŤ	*ú-gar bâbi âli* (*URU-KI*)
67 [e-da-ku-]u-a		ŤŤ -a-a-da-da-ku-ú-a- ŤŤ	*si-ḫi-il nu-ni*
68 [da-ag-rin] (*SAI* 7825)		ŤŤ -ku-ga- ŤŤ	*ta-mir-tu*
69 [za-ar] (cf. *B* 10238)		ŤŤ -zu-u-na ŤŤ	*sa-ar-ri ša še-im*
70 [su-ur] (*SAI* 7755)		ŤŤ ŤŤ ŤŤ	*ṣa-ra-ru* (*SAI* 7755)
71 [še-rin?] (*SAI* 7754)		ŤŤ ŤŤ ŤŤ	*ṣi-ṣi-tum* (cf. *SAI* 7754)
72 še-rin-šur (*SAI* 7757)		ŤŤ -še-a- ŤŤ ŤŤ	*tu-ša-ru ša nab-bil-lum*
73 ú-du-(?)		ŤŤ -pi(?)-a- ŤŤ	*pi-en-du*
74 im-man-du		ŤŤ -im-ma- ŤŤ	*ti-nu-ru*
75 ki-li-na (*SAI* 7782)		ŤŤ ŤŤ ŤŤ	ŤŤ
76 du-ru-na		ŤŤ ŤŤ ŤŤ	ŤŤ
77 bu-un		[ŤŤ ŤŤ ŤŤ]	[*na-ap-pa*]-*ḫu*
78	. . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .
79	. . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .
80	. . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .
81	. . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .

82 nin-na (*B* 10287)		[ ] -eš-giš-pa- [ ]	[*eš-še-pu*^{iṣṣuru}] (*B* 10287]
83 ab-lal (*B* 10318)		[ ] -a-a-lal-lu- [ ]	[*qin-nu ša iṣṣuri*] (*B* 10319)
84 kin-bur (*B* 10319)		[ ]	[*qi-bur-ru ša iṣṣuri*]
85 šu-ú (*B* 10295)		[-šu-u-a-ša-a-ru-]	[*zi-ir-qu* | *am-bu*] (*B*10295)
86 šú-ta (*B* 10296)		[ ]	[ ] (*B* 10296)
87 ga-a-a-ú (*SAI* 7760)		[(?)]	[*an-šu*] (*SAI* 7760)
88 šú-ru (cf. *SAI* 7761)		[ ]	[*ka-bu-u*] (*SAI* 7761)
89 (cf. *SAI* 7765)		[ ]	[*ru-ub-ṣu*] (*SAI* 7765)
90 (cf. *SAI* 7766)		[ ]	[*tar-ba-ṣu*] (*SAI* 7766)
91 ú (*SAI* 7762)		[ ]	[*la-aḫ-ru*] (*SAI* 7762)
92 ú-a		[ ]	[*bu-ḫa-lum*] (cf. *SAI* 8202)
93 la-aḫ-rum		[ ]	[*la-aḫ-ru*]
94 ga-nam		[ ]	[*im-mir-tu*]
95 i-ri-ib		-lul-la-	. . . . .
96 bu-u		-eš-giš-pa	[*te-zu-u*] *Glossar*, p. 277.
97 bu-ul			
98 bu-ur			*nu-u*[*s-su ša . . .*], *UMBS* V, 104, II:9
99 za-an-sur			*ša AZ . . . . .*
100 tu-ku			*na*[*-a-šu ša SAK . . .*] *UMBS* V, 104, II:8
101 ni-in-na (B 10287)			*ša* ^{d}*NIN-BUL-BUL-ḪU* [*eš-še-pu*] (cf. *B* 10287)
102 gu-kin		-kiṇ-na-	*da-ad-me*
103 me-e		-u-kar-te-na-	*ta-ḫa-zu*
104 šak-du-dú			*ma-ḫa-ṣu ša tab-di-e*
105 muš-ša-ga-na			*ka-ru-ur-tu ša našpanti* (*UR-BAR-RA*)
106 me-en		-me-ma-a-e-na-	*a-gu-u*
107 pa-ra			*šar-ri*
108		-i-gi-gu-na-	
109		-ta-ka-	
110		-lul-la-	*ba-ša-mu*
111 ša-ra		-i-gi-gu-na-	^{d}*Šâru*
112		-ta-ka-	
113 ku-u (B 10542)		tu-kul-lum	*na-du-u* (*B* 10542)
114 gu-muš(ṣir)			*ša KU-UD-DU šal-ki*(?)*-du*
115 gu-muš(ṣir)			*ša KAK-KU-US kak-ku-su*
116 gu-u			*ša KU-LI ib-ri* (cf. *B* 10579)
117			*ša-bat-ti*
118 ú-gu			*ba-nu-u* | *a-la-du*
119 su-u			*a-ša-bu*
120 su-uš			
121 tu-uš (*B* 10513)			(*B* 10523)

122 du-ur		𒀀𒀀	*šu-pur-ri*
123 du-rum		𒀀𒀀	𒀀𒀀
124 du-ru-na		𒀀𒀀	*pî ša bu-ša*^{meš}
125 du-ru		𒀀𒀀	𒀀𒀀
126 du-ur (*SAI* 7981)		𒀀𒀀	*za-ra-tu* (*SAI* 7981)
127 tu-ú(?)		𒀀𒀀	*ša LIB-TUR ša-as-su-rum* (cf. *B* 8010)
128 i		𒀀𒀀	*lu-bu-uš-tu* (*B* 10534)
129 bi-e		𒀀𒀀 bi-it | KU | 𒀀𒀀	*te-zu-u* (cf. *SAI* 8125)
130 su-uḫ		𒀀𒀀 še-e | KU | 𒀀𒀀	*zu-u*
131 bu-it		𒀀𒀀 bu-u | KU | 𒀀𒀀	*na-sa-ḫu*
132 di-ib		𒀀𒀀	*ṣa-ba-tu*
133 nu(?)-ú		𒀀𒀀	*ša RIM-KU u-tul-lu* (*B* 8877)
134 tu-kul		𒀀𒀀	*kak-ku* (B 10529)
135 dur-dur (cf. *B* 10646)		tu-kul-min-na-bi	*ṣa-la-lu* (cf. *B* 10646) | . . *tam*(?)*-lu*(?) . . .
136 mi-iṭ-ṭa		𒀀𒀀 -di-gi-ra-ku	*kak-ku ša* [*ta-ḫa-zi*]
137 𒀀𒀀		𒀀𒀀 -i-di-im-me-ku	𒀀𒀀 *ša* . . . .
138 tu-u (*B* 10551)		tu-kul-lum	*ṣu-ba-tu* (*B* 10551)
139 tu-ug (*B* 10551)		𒀀𒀀	𒀀𒀀 (*B* 10551)
140 mu-u		𒀀𒀀	*na-al-ba-šu*
141 na-am		𒀀𒀀	*ṭè-e-mu*
142 du-ul		𒀀𒀀	*ša MAŠ-KU ku-si-tu*
143 u-muš		𒀀𒀀	*pak-ku* | *ṭè-e-mu*
144 du-ul (*B* 9582)		giš-pu-tu-kul-lum	*ka-ta-mu* (*B* 9582)
145 šu-dul		𒀀𒀀	*ni-i-rum*
146 zi-i (*B* 10530)		tu-kul-lum	*ki-e-mu* (*B* 10530)
147 eš (cf. *B* 10500)		𒀀𒀀	𒀀𒀀 | *ú-*(?)*-tu*
148 ḫu-un		𒀀𒀀	*na-a-ḫu-u* (*B* 10540)
149 gi-e (*SAI* 7992)		𒀀𒀀	*ru-*[*bu*]*-u* (*SAI* 7992)
150 e-gi (cf. *B* 10501)		𒀀𒀀	*ru-ba-tu*(?)
151 ub		𒀀𒀀	*ša LU-KU* [*lu-ub-bu*] (*cf. SAI* 8212)
152 e-eš		𒀀𒀀	𒀀𒀀
153 še-e		𒀀𒀀	*di* . . . .
154 e-eš		𒀀𒀀	*ib-*[*du-u*] (*B* 10527)
155 lu-ú (*B* 6915)		tu-kul-gu-nu-u	*da-la* [*-ḫu*] (*B* 6915)
156 ga-ar		𒀀𒀀 𒀀𒀀	*ša A-GAR* [*amaru*] (cf. *SAI* 8915)
157 gu-ug (*B* 6916)		𒀀𒀀 𒀀𒀀	*ku-uk-*[*ku*] (*B* 6916)
158 ka-ra		kur?-te-nu-u	*ri-ik-su* | *da* . . . .
159 ki-ri		𒀀𒀀	*ki-ri-tum ša GIS* . . .
160		ú-du-u	*du-uš-šú-u* (*SAI* 8174 | *ri-e-ú* (*SAI* 8181)
161		𒀀𒀀	*man-za-zu ša alpi u imme*[*ri*] *LU*[*-ARAD*]

162 lu-u		𒌋𒌋	*im-me-rum*
163 si-i		𒌋𒌋	𒌋𒌋
164 i-ṣi		𒌋𒌋	𒌋𒌋 *eme-sal*
165 ú-du (*B* 10681)		𒌋𒌋	𒌋𒌋 (*B* 10681)
166 la		ša-ú-da-ku-baṭ-ṭa-i-gub	*pag-ri* (*B* 12256)
167 gu-uk-kal (*SAI* 8223)		u-da-bir-ra-a-nu-til-lu-u	*gu-uk-kal-lum* (*SAI* 8223)
168 ka-a		pi-e-šu	*sik-ku-u*
169 ki-lim		𒌋𒌋	*nam-maš-tu*
170 gi-li-im		𒌋𒌋	𒌋𒌋
171 gi-li-li		𒌋𒌋	*nam-maš-šú-u*
172 pi-eš		𒌋𒌋	*ḫu-mu-un-si-rum*
173 ki-ši (cf. *B* 11937)		𒌋𒌋	*pi-a-zu*
174 si-ki		si-ku-ú	*ši-pa-a-tu* | *šar-ti*
175 ú		si-ki-di-lu-u	*laḫ-rum*
176 ú-a		𒌋𒌋 𒌋𒌋	𒌋𒌋
177 la-te		𒌋𒌋 𒌋𒌋	*šú*
178 da-ra		𒌋𒌋 𒌋𒌋	*da-'-mu*
179 ni-na-a		𒌋𒌋 𒌋𒌋	*it-qu*
180 ga-nam		𒌋𒌋 𒌋𒌋	*im-mir-tu*
181 e-ri-en		si-ki-nun-na-ku	*e-ri-nu*
182 še-e		𒌋𒌋 -lam-ma-ku	*ba-ku-u*
183 še-eš		𒌋𒌋 𒌋𒌋	*pa-ša-šu*
184 ši-kin		𒌋𒌋 𒌋𒌋	*ši-kin-nu*
185 ad-kin		𒌋𒌋 𒌋𒌋	*mu-du-lu* | *ki-ri-e-tu*
186 aš		𒌋𒌋 -lam-su-ḫu-ru-u	*it-tu-ut-ti*
187 mun-su-ub		𒌋𒌋 𒌋𒌋 𒌋𒌋	*šar-tu*
188 gu-ru		𒌋𒌋 𒌋𒌋-lu-uḫ-šu-u	*ka-ru-u*
189 sa-a		gi-šim-ma-ru	*da-ma-qu*
190 si-ig		𒌋𒌋	𒌋𒌋
191 𒌋𒌋		𒌋𒌋	*dam-qu*
192 𒌋𒌋		𒌋𒌋	*pa-ša-ḫu*
193 ḫu-ud		𒌋𒌋	*ḫa-da-du*
194 ḫa-ad		𒌋𒌋	*ḫaṭ-ṭu*
195 pa-a		𒌋𒌋	*kap-pu* | *a-rum*
196 gi-šim-mar		𒌋𒌋	*gi-šim-ma-rum*
197 giš-nim-bar		𒌋𒌋	𒌋𒌋
198 ga-al		iq-qu	*ba-šu-u* | *na-ṣa-ru*
199 iq		𒌋𒌋	*ri-tum*
200 di-ib (*B* 10676)		u-du-u	*ba-'-u* (*B* 10676 | *e-ti-qu* (*B* 10679)
201 i-ši-ib (*B* 10368)		me-mu-u	*i-šip-pi* (*B* 10368)
202 ma-a		𒌋𒌋	*ša KU-BA na-al-ba-šu*
203 me-e (*B* 10374)		𒌋𒌋	*par-ṣu* (*B* 10374)
204 me-en (*B* 10358)		𒌋𒌋	*a-na-ku* (*B* 10358)
205 ma-a		𒌋𒌋	*a-lu*
206 me-e		𒌋𒌋	*di-lu*

207 su-ur		la-al-lu	*šu-qal-lu-lu* (*SAI* 7606)
208 la-a		ϒϒ	*a-ma-rum* (*B* 10084)
209 lal-la		la-al-min-na-bi	*ud-da-a-tu*
210 la-'-u		ϒϒ ϒϒ	*rib-ba-a-tu*
211 ϒϒ		ϒϒ -a-a-ku	ϒϒ (*B* 10145)
212 ϒϒ		ϒϒ -ia-a-ku	. . .
213 ϒϒ		ϒϒ -qaq-qa-ku	. . . .
214 ϒϒ		ϒϒ -giš-pu-u	. . . . .
215 ni-gi-in		ϒϒ -la-gab-ba-bu	*na-gu-u* (*B* 10143)
216 ú-sar (*B* 10139)		ϒϒ -ni-si-gu-u	*šit-ti* (*B* 10139)
217 ú-ku (*Glossar*, p. 39)		ϒϒ -a-ra-du-bu-u	*lab-nu* (cf. *SAI* 7633)
218 ḫal-bi (*B* 10136)		ϒϒ -ḫal-la-ku	*ḫal-pu-u* (*B* 10136)
219 ḫal-ma-a		ϒϒ -giš-gal-la-ku	[*i*]-*nu ša bûri*
220 kur (*B* 1144)		pa-ap-pu	*nak-rum* (*B* 1144)
221 gur		ϒϒ	ϒϒ
222 [pa?]-a		ϒϒ	*ka-ka-si-ga*
223 [gu]r(?) (B 1142)		ϒϒ	*a-ḫu* (*B* 1142)
224 [pa]-ap (*SAI* 647)		ϒϒ	*a-ša-ri-du* (*SAI* 647)
225 [q]a-a (*SAI* 792)		si-lu-ú	*qu-ú* (*SAI* 792)
226 si-la		ϒϒ	ϒϒ
227 ϒϒ		ϒϒ	[*mi*]-*šir-tu*
228 pa-a (*SAI* 676)		pa-ap-pu-e-ik(?)-ku	[*pal*]-*gu* (*SAI* 676)
229 ϒϒ		[ϒϒ -iš-ša-ak-ku(?)]	[ϒϒ] (*SAI* 670)
230 pa(?)-ap-u-kur		[pa-ap-pu-i-gi-gu-nu-u]	[*ša PAP-*]*IGIGUNU ú-ga-rum* (*SAI* 687)
231 [i-s]i-mu (*B* 1202)		ϒϒ	ϒϒ *us-mu-u* (*SAI* 688)
232 bu-ú		[ka]-as-ka-la	*na-šar-bu-ṭu*
233 eš		ϒϒ	*ša GARAS-GA ka-* . . .
234 ir		ϒϒ	*i-ri* . . .
235		ϒϒ	*ša KAŠ-ŠAK*(?) *ur* . . . .
236		ϒϒ	*ša KAŠ-GID* . . . . .
237		ϒϒ	*ut*(?)-*ra*(?) . . . .
238	. . .	. . . . . -u	*d* . . . . .
239	. . .	. . . . . ϒϒ	*d* . . . . .
240	. . .	. . . . . ϒϒ	*d* . . . . .
241		nu-un(?)-min-na-bi-la-gab-	min-na-bi | *šub-t*[*um*]
242		ϒϒ ϒϒ -gub-be	ϒϒ | ϒϒ
243		ma-a-šu	. . . -*an-tum*
244 [ma-aš] (*SAI* 1026)		ϒϒ	*mi-iš-lum* (*SAI* 1026)
245		ϒϒ	ϒϒ
246		ϒϒ	*su-ú-tu* (*SAI* 1036)
247		ϒϒ	*ú-ṭu*
248		ϒϒ	*ba-a-šu* (cf. *SAI* 997)
249 [ma-aš] (*SAI* 1020)		ϒϒ	*ma-a-šu ša eqli* (*SAI* 1020)
250 [ϒϒ]		ϒϒ	*el-lu*(*B*1750 | *ib-bu*(*B*1754)
251 [gi-di-im] (*SAI* 1134)		maš-gi-eš-pu-u	*e-kim-mu* (*SAI* 1134)

252 [sag-man] (*SAI* 1136)	[𒊩𒈪]	maš-gi-eš-pu-min-na-bi	*ma-a-šu* (*SAI* 1136 | *tu-'-a-mu* (*SAI* 1137)
253 [ma-aš-ki-im] (*B* 5659)	[𒈦𒄭]	gi-eš-ṭu-ru-u	*ša MAŠKIM ra-bi-ṣu* (cf. *B* 5659)
254 [si-ig] (*B* 5576)	[𒈦𒄭]	𒌋𒌋	*ma-ḫa-ṣu* (*B* 5576)
255 [𒌋𒌋] (*SAI* 3930)	[𒈦𒄭]	𒌋𒌋	*ša-ḫa-ṭu* (*SAI* 3930)
256	𒈦𒄭	𒌋𒌋	*na-ba-ṭu*
257 [lu-ga] (*B* 5612)	𒈦𒄭	𒌋𒌋	*ša PA-MAL šil-la-tu* (*B* 5612)
258	𒈦𒄭	𒌋𒌋	*sa-lu-ú ša mê*^{meš}
259	𒈦𒄭	𒌋𒌋	*ḫu-ut-pu ša siparri*
260 [ḫa]-ad (cf. *B* 5573)	𒈦𒄭	𒌋𒌋	*ḫaṭ-ṭu ša iṣi*
261 [pa]-a (*B* 5570)	𒈦𒄭	𒌋𒌋	*kap-pu* (*SAI* 3918) | *a-ru* (*B* 5570)
262 mu-ú-a	𒈦𒄭	𒌋𒌋	*id-lu*
263 mu-ú-a-tu (*B* 5579)	𒈦𒄭	𒌋𒌋	^{d}*Nabû* (*B* 5579)
264 ú-gu-la	𒈦𒄭	𒌋𒌋	*ak-lu* (*B* 5568) | *ša-pi-ru* (*B* 5590)
265 . . -ḫu-dur	𒈦𒄭	𒌋𒌋	^{d}*I-šum*
266 [su]-ul-lat	𒈦𒄭	𒌋𒌋	^{d}*Nabû*
267 . . .-man	𒈦𒄭	𒌋𒌋	^{d}*Šarru*
268 gi-it-ru	𒈦𒄭	𒌋𒌋	*ḫaṭ-ṭu* (cf. *B* 5573)
269 mu-ud-ru	𒈦𒄭	𒌋𒌋	𒌋𒌋 *eme-sal*
270 [nu]-us-ku (*B* 5683)	𒈦𒄭𒈦	geš-tu-ru-u-mu-ša-ku	^{d}*Nusku* (*B* 5683)
271 . . . šàg-du	𒈦𒄭𒈦	𒌋𒌋 𒌋𒌋	𒌋𒌋
272 [si]-pa (cf. *B* 5688)	𒈦𒄭𒈦	𒌋𒌋 u-du-u	*ri-e-a-ú* (*B* 5688)
273	𒈦𒄭𒈦	𒌋𒌋 𒌋𒌋	𒌋𒌋
274 [b]a-an mi-in	𒈦𒄭	ba-an-min-na-bi	*šit-ti sa-a-at*
275 [b]a-an eš-šu	𒈦𒄭	𒌋𒌋 -eš-še-ku	*ṣi-bat*
276 su-bat	𒈦𒄭	𒌋𒌋 𒌋𒌋	𒌋𒌋
277 [b]a-an lam-mu	𒈦𒄭	𒌋𒌋 -eš-gi-di-ri-gu-u	*ir-bi sa-a-at*
278 [𒌋𒌋]	𒈦𒄭	𒌋𒌋 -lim-mu-ku	𒌋𒌋
279 [ba-a]n ia	𒈦𒄭	𒌋𒌋 -lim-mu-gi-di-ri-gu-u	*ḫanši sa-a-at*
280 [𒌋𒌋]	𒈦𒄭	𒌋𒌋 -ia-a-ku	𒌋𒌋
281 aš (*B* 6745)	𒈦𒄭	di-eš-šu	*ar-ra-ti* (*B* 6745)
282 . . . ud	𒈦𒄭	𒌋𒌋	*ti-iq-tu*
283 zi-iz (cf. *B* 6750)	𒈦𒄭	𒌋𒌋	*kiš-ša-tu* (*RA* X, 81 II : 28)
284 [b]a-ar (*B* 1814, 1730)	𒀀	ba-a-ru	*uš-šú-ru* (*B* 1814) | *a-ḫa-tu* (*B* 1730)
285 [𒌋𒌋]	𒀀	𒌋𒌋	[*nu*(?)]-*uṣ-ṣu-ú*
286 ib (cf. *ibbi*, *B* 10488)	𒅆𒌋𒌋	u-ra-šu	*tu-pu-uq-tu* (*B* 10488)
287 da-ra (cf. *B* 10483)	𒅆𒌋𒌋	𒌋𒌋	*is-ḫu* (*B* 10483) | *ni-bit-tu* (*B* 10485)
288 ur-ta	𒅆𒌋𒌋	𒌋𒌋	*ša* ^{d}*NIN-IB šu-ma*
289 ú-ra-aš (*B* 10478)	𒅆𒌋𒌋	𒌋𒌋	*pi-ris-ti*
290 ni-e	𒀭𒀭𒀭	maš-te-en-i-za-ku	*pu-luḫ-ti*

291 lil		ŦŦ	*lil-lum*
292 [ŦŦ]		ŦŦ eš-giš-pu-u	ŦŦ
293		maš-te-nu-u	*e-ri-bu ša* ^{d}*šam-ši* (cf. *B* 10828)
294		ŦŦ	*e-ri-bu ša û-mi*
295 [šu]-uš		ŦŦ	*sa-ḫa-pu* (*B* 10839)
296 [e]n (*B* 10857)		maš-te-en-a-na-ku	*šip-tu* (*B* 10857)
297 še(?)-e		ŦŦ	*ba-šu-u*
298 . . . gi		ŦŦ -mul-la-ku	*pa-ru-u* (cf. *B* 4991)
299 ki-eš (cf. *B* 10859)		ŦŦ -a-na-sar-ga-da-ki-ik-ku	*Keš*(*ŠU-ER*)^{ki} (cf. *B* 10859)
300 šú-ḫu-ub (*B* 10865)		ŦŦ -mul-la-ku	*šú-ḫup-pa-tu* (*B* 10865)
301 [ki-bi-i]r (*B* 10870)		ŦŦ -dí-eš-še-ku	*ki-bir-rum* (cf. *B* 10870)
302 [gi-bi-i]l (*B* 10871)		ŦŦ ŦŦ	*qi-lu-tu* (*B* 10871)
303 [šu-du]-un (*B* 10877)		ŦŦ -ṭu-gu-nu-še (?)	*ni-i-rum* (*B* 10877)
304 [u-ku]-uš (*B* 10887)		ŦŦ -ra-nu-til-lu-u	*kiš-šú-u* (*B* 10887)
305 [ḫu-u]l (*B* 10886)		ŦŦ ŦŦ	*ḫi-du-tu* (*B* 10886)
306 [bi-i]b-ra (*B* 10883)		ŦŦ ŦŦ	*bi-ib-ru-u* (*B* 10883)
307 [šu-uš-ša-]na (*B* 11222)		ŦŦ -di-eš-še-ku	*šú-uš-ša-an* (*B* 11222)
308 . . . -a		ŦŦ ŦŦ	*ši-zu-u*
309		ŦŦ ŦŦ	*ma-an ṣa-aḫ-ru*
310 [gi-dim] (*B* 11307)		šu-ša-na-ša-sa-ḫa-ra-ku-si-	la-i-gub | *e-kim-mu* (*B* 11307)
311 [ša-na-bi]		maš-te-en-min-na-bi	*ši-ni-pu*
312		ŦŦ ŦŦ	*ši-in ši-zi-i*
313		ŦŦ ŦŦ	*ši-in ma-an ṣa-aḫ-ru*
314 [u-tug] (cf. *B* 11312)		šu-ša-na ša-sa-ha-ra-ak-ku-	si-la-i-gub | *u-tuk-ku* (*B* 11309)
315		ŦŦ ŦŦ	*še-e-du* (*B* 11308)
316		ŦŦ ŦŦ	*ra-bi-ṣu* (*B* 11313)
317 [ga-ar-za]	. . . .	ŦŦ -gi-di-ri-gu-u	*pa-ra-aṣ ša šarri* (cf. 5647)
318	. . . .	. . . -še-tu-kul-kak-ka-ku	(?)-(?)-*bu*(?)
319	. . . .	[ŦŦ] ŦŦ	*ŠU-ŠE-KU-KAK-BAR ap-su-u* (*B* 10902)
320	. . . .	[ŦŦ] ŦŦ	. . . . .
321	. . . .	[ŦŦ] ŦŦ	. . . . .

1. Cf. A = *buduqtu* "flood." *B* 11331.

8. For *A* without *IGI* inserted = *dimtu*, cf. *B* 11332.

10. The sign, which is called š a-â-k u-b a-a ṭ-ṭ u-i-g u b, apparently is *A* with *BAD* inserted. If this is correct, it is new.

11. The character which is broken away is new, as is determined by its name, š a-a-k u-l a-g a r-g u-n a-i-g u b; but exactly what was inserted in *A*, is not certain. The sign meaning l a g a r in Sumerian and *lagâru* in Semitic, cf. *B* 9574, would seem to be the sign called l a g a r. This finds support in the fact that this sign with *ŠE* inserted, cf. *B* 9612, is called š a-l a-g a-r a k-k u-š e-a-i-g u b. L a g a r with g u n u would then seem to

be *DUL*, but in line 144, as well as *CT* 11, 29 : 25a, this sign is called g i š-p u-t u-k u l-l a-k u. A possible explanation is that two original signs have been confused.

13. The sign called š a-â-k u-k u-u-a-i-g u b must be *A* with *ḪA* inserted. In *CT* 19, 21 : 18b, this sign occurs, but it has been construed as *ZA* with *ḪA* inserted, cf. *B* 11813, *SAI* 9075 (with ?), and Barton 524. In answer to my inquiry King informs me that *R* II, 44 : 3a is wrong, *K* 4177 reading quite clearly . He regards *CT* 19, 21 : 18b (*K* 4362) as certainly the same.

18. The sign called . . . . i-g i-g i š-p u-u-k u r-r a-i-g u b has the value *šur-i-ni*. As it follows *ZA*, it would seem that the sign which is wanting, is something like what is indicated in the restoration.

25. Cf. g i r i m, *Glossar*, p. 92.

26. Cf. n i-m i-e n (emesal) = *la-wu-u-um*, *UMBS* V, 102, II : 1; which shows that the root is לוה, cf. Latrille, *ZK* II, p. 239.

27. Cf. n-i-m i-e n (eme-sal) = *za-ḫa-rum*, *UMBS* V, 102, II : 2.

29. For e l-l a g, cf. *Glossar*, p. 32; also cf. e l-l a = *pu-uq-qu*, *UMBS* V, 102, II : 9.

30. With *GI-RIN* = *illûru*, cf. GI-RIN = *enbu*, *B* 2525. See also *Glossar*, p. 93.

32. [*Pa*]*-qu* is restored on the basis of *CT* 12, 31 : 93068 : 9.

33. Perhaps to be restored [n i-g i-i n] = *saḫâru*, cf. *Glossar*, p. 201.

39. The sign, as in *CT* 12, 31, 93068 : 16, is unfortunately wanting. Meissner holds that *GE* (*išten*) is enclosed, see *SAI* 7872.

41. Cf. *U* = b u r u = *šu-ut-tu*, "hole, shaft" (*B* 8769); also *šuttatu*, *SAI* 7807.

44. Cf. ḫ a b, *Glossar*, p. 285. In view of the fact that the sign has such values as *bûru*, *ḫirîtu*, *šuttatu*, etc., it would seem that *bu-'-šu* means "cess-pool," and that the root is *ba'âšu*. For ḫ a-a b = *bi-'-šum*, cf. *UMBS* V, 102, II : 12.

51. See *uru-tum*, etc., Thompson *CT* 12, 26 : 1b. King kindly examined the tablet in the British Museum, and informs me that it agrees with the present text. *Urutu* (?) therefore of *SAI* 7845, etc., must be corrected accordingly.

52. A š-t e is apparently the name of a city, cf. the Sumerian a š-t e = *šu-ma âli*, *SAI* 7846.

54. Cf. *Glossar*, p. 277. *Bu-gin-nu ša a-ka-lu*, "food receptacle," is a good explanation of the sign. *LAGAB* with *ME* inserted, *CT* 12, 26 : 7b, has the same values.

63. *LAGAB* with *DAR* inserted occurred *CT* 12, 26 : 26b, but it has been read *LAGAB* with *BAD* + *KU* inserted (Fossey 4848), and *LAGAB* with *NA* inserted (*SAI* 7746). On the synonyms *naḫallum* and *šuttatum*, cf. line 41.

65. 108 and 111. This character frequently occurs in the tablets from Umma as the name of the chief deity, but for which the reading has not been known. In the text here published, the Semitic *u-ga-rum* is given. In *CT* 12, 26 : 36b, it also occurs partially preserved, where the Sumerian value a-g a r is given. This, doubtless, suggested the transcription by Assyriologists of *LAGAB* with *GAR* inserted; cf. Fossey 4885, and *SAI* 7777. But this must be discarded. In lines 108 and 111 additional values are given for this sign, namely, p a-r a = *šar-ri*, and š a-r a = ^{d}*Šâru*. This shows that the reading of the name of Umma's chief deity is now known, namely Ša-r a in Sumerian, and *Šâru* or *Šarru* in Semitic (see under Text No. 16). For the reading *BARA* = *ša-a-ru*, cf. *S*^{b} 355 (*DAL*^{3}, p. 63); and = *šarru* (*LUGAL*), cf. *R* IV, 46 : 7a. For ^{d}*BARA* = *Ša-ra*, cf. *SAI* 10934, and ^{d}*BARUN* = ^{d}*Ša-ra*, cf. *SAI* 11296.

66. This sign occurs in *CT* 12, 26:37b, with the Sumerian value a-g a r, which doubtless is equivalent to the Semitic value of the present text.

67. This sign occurred *CT* 12, 26:38b in an imperfect form, and was regarded as having *A-DA-GAR* inserted, instead of *A-DA-ḪA*, cf. Fossey 4948; *SAI* 7866 (with a question mark). Cf., however, *Glossar*, p. 274. Like the sign in line 106, the character is related to *PISANNU* with *A-DA-ḪA* enclosed, cf. *SAI* 3862. The Semitic meaning of the sign is *si-ḫi-il nu-ni*, "fish spear".

68. *CT* 12, 26:40b, offers the Sumerian value d a-a k-k i l (or d a-a g-r i n), for this sign; the present text furnishes us with its Semitic value, namely, *ta-mir-tu*.

69. *LAGAB* with *SUM* inserted has the Semitic values *sa-ar-ri ša še-im, ṣa-ra-rum* and *ṣi-ṣi-tum;* cf. also z a r = *za-a-ru, Glossar*, p. 286. *Ṣi-ṣi-tum CT* 12, is partially preserved in 26:44b as a value for the next sign, line 72, which apparently is to be regarded as a variant. *Sa-ar-ri*, perhaps for *sa-'-ru*, means "ring", cf. *LAGAB* = *sa-a-rum CT* 12, 25:42a. The meaning of the sign obviously is "a grain receptacle" or "a granary".

72. The Semitic value *tu-ša-ru ša nab-bil-lum*, partially preserved in *CT* 12, 26:45b, seems to mean "restraint (or destruction) of destroying insects." If this is correct, s u r of ŠE-RIN-s u r, its Sumerian equivalent, which in the parallel text *CT* 12, 26:42b = *sarâru*, does not mean "to shine (Bar. 448), but "to oppress", or "to restrain". The same is true of *za-ar* = *za-ar-rum*, line 41 of the same text, which is from *zâru* "to resist", and does not mean "bright".

73. In the parallel text *CT* 12, 26:46b, the inserted character is *NE*. In the present text therefore, if the character is the same it would seem, as in some other cases, to be archaic, cf. li. 103. The values u-d u-(?) = *pi-en-du*, are partially preserved in *CT* 12, 26:46b. King kindly informs me that the third sign of the Sumerian word, *CT* 12, 26:46b, seems to have been most probably *LAL* with the horizontal wedge written rather high. The sign in the present text, however, can scarcely be *LAL*. Holma suggests that *pindu* is "Eine Krankheitserscheinung der Haut" or a "Geschwür" *Kleine Beitrage zum Assyrischen Lexikon*, p. 16. In view of the meaning of the inserted *NE* = *išâtu* "fire", may not *pendu* mean "birth mark", in the light of the passage *R* III, 65, 9b, where a new born babe is referred to as being covered with *pendu* (*pi-in-di-e ma-li*). The stone *aban išâte*, a synonym of [. . . . *p*]*i-in-du-u, CT* 14, 15:34, is perhaps a red mottled stone.

74. For the Sumerian value *tinûru*, cf. *CT* 12, 26:50b. See also *B* 8372, where *IM* has the value *tinûru*.

77. Cf. *Glossar*, p. 277.

94. Cf. *Glossar*, p. 84.

95 and 110. This sign, called š a-l a-g a b-b a-l u l-l a-i-g u b, is new. It has the values i-r i-i b, and p a-r a = *ba-ša-mu*. It is to be noted that the sign p a r also has the value *bašâmu*, *R* II, 62, 3, I, 3 and 4.

102. *LAGAB* with *KIN* inserted, is new.

103 and 104. The sign given alongside the character, to show what is inserted, is inscribed perpendicularly. This is referred to in the sign name, by the use of the word t e-n a. A similar character with the Sumerian value . . . [d]u-d u, occurred *CT* 11, 28, *K* 8503, Rev:4 (*SAI* 7773). The value *šak-du-du* in the present text verifies the identification. It is to be noted that it has values similar to the common Assyrian sign for "battle," namely, m e-e = *-taḫazu*, which sign was used rarely in Babylonian. Additional

values given in the new text are: šak-du-du = *ma-ḫa-ṣu ša tap-di-e,* and muš-šag-na = *ka-ru-ur-tu ša našpanti* (*UR-BAR-RA*), which are synonymous expressions.

106. The sign is new, although *PISANNU* with the same signs enclosed has similar values, me-en and a-gu-u, as well as *šarru,* cf. *B* 5510 and 5513. For me-en = *a-gu-u nâri,* cf. *B* 10400.

112. The values are similar to *LAGAB* with *IGI-GUNA* inserted, which is discussed above, line 65.

122. Cf. *KU* = *umuš* = *šipru, B* 10552.

124. Cf. duru-na = *ašâbu, B* 10499.

129. Cf. *KU-KU* = bi-bi = *te-zu-u, SAI* 8125; also cf. bu-u = *te-zu-u,* line 96.

132. *KU* frequently interchanges with *LU* = dib = *ṣabâtu* (cf. *B* 10694), in dates of the Larsa dynasty. The present text shows that *KU,* as well as *LU,* has the value dib.

134. Tu-kul (cf. *B* 10514) = *kak-ku* (*B* 10529), as has been inferred.

136. Perhaps to be restored *kak-ku ša*[*ili*].

140. It is to be noted in connection with the reading túg(KU)-ba = *nalbašu* (*Glossar,* p. 161), that mu-u is the Sumerian in this text, and in line 202 ma-a = *ša KU-BA na-al-ba-šu;* cf. *mu* = *labâšu SAI* 7985.

141. Cf. *KU* = *nam* = *ru-bu-tu, UMBS* V, 102, III, 8.

143. Cf. uš(KU) = ṭêmu *S*^{b} 1, III:6; also cf. umuš = šipru (*B* 10552).

168. This character, the ideographic values of which are given here, occurs compounded with other signs in *CT* 14, 49, 93085, rev:6 ff.

172. Cf. *pi-eš* = *ḫumiru, Sb,* 1 III:14.

174. This sign is made like *KIN,* but has the name and values of *SIG,* i. e., *KIN* with *gunu.* The *gunu* is omitted also in the succeeding signs.

175–188. *KIN-DIL* without *gunu* is new. The values da-ra = *da-'-mu* are those of *SIG* + *DIL, B* 10798. Cf. previous note. The values ú and ú-a = *-laḫ-rum,* and ga-nam = *im-mir tu* are the same as those of the usual sign in lines 91, 92 and 94.

179. *It-qu* may mean "wool," cf. Jensen *ZK* II, 27 f.

181. Perhaps for *SIG* + *NUN,* see note to line 174.

182. The name and the values are those of *SIG* + *LAM,* but the second sign is quite distinct, see note to line 174, cf. *bakû SAI* 8314, and se-eš = *pašâšu,* B 10814. *Ši-kin* = *ši-kin-nu* are the values also of *DUG;* cf. *SAI* 4208.

186 and 187. This character has values similar to *SIG* + *SUḪUR, namely,* mun-su-ub = *šar-tu* (cf. *B* 10812), but the signs must be regarded as distinct; see note on line 174.

188. The sign *GUR* (*B* 10809), has the same value as this sign, namely, gu-ru = *ka-ru-u;* but its distinctiveness is to be noted; see also note to line 174.

189. The sign has the meanings *da-ma-qu, dam-qu* and *gi-šim-ma-rum,* the same as the well known sign for gišimmar (*B* 7289). The second part of the sign has the value sig, *Glossar,* p. 241; cf. also the common sign with the same values sa-a and si-iq = *damâqu,* cf. *Glossar,* p. 242. The values ḫa-ad = *ḫaṭ-ṭu* also are the same as of *PA* (*B* 5573). Cf. also pa-a = *a-rum, B* 5570.

194. Cf. line 260, and *B* 5573.

198. *KIN* + *KAK* is new. The values ga-al = *ba-šu-u,* and perhaps also *na-ṣa-ru* are the same as gál (*B* 2238). Note also the Sumerian iq = *ri-tum,* line 199, which appears to be a synonym of *naṣâru.*

202. The reading of the Sumerian m a-a for *nalbašu,* shows perhaps that the restoration [m e-e] = *ša KU-ME na-al-ba-šu* S^c 4 (*DAL*[3], p. 79), cf. *B* 10377, is to be given up. It is to be noted that the ideogram here is *KU-BA.*

205. Cf. m a = *mâtu, B* 6774, 102, III, 13.

209. In *UMBS* V, 104, III, this sign = l a-a l-l a-a l = *ud-di-a* . . . .

211. This sign which in S^b 149, has the Sumerian value l a l-ú, here has l a-'-ú. Cf. also l a-u, *UMBS* V, 104, III, 15 = *ri-ib-ba-*[*tum*]. These writings determine that the reading *rib-ba-a-tu, B* 10145, and not *nar-ba-a-tu* or *lib-ba-a-tu,* is correct.

212. *LAL-LAL-NI* is new.

213. *LAL-LAL-KAK* occurs quite frequently in the Nippur temple documents of the Cassite period *BE* XIV, 65:27, 88:3, etc., and means "balance due." Apparently *rib-ba-a-tu* and the Sumerian l a-'-u have some such meaning.

214. *LAL-LAL-U,* called l a-a l-m i-n a-b i-g i š-p u-u is new.

216. *UMBS* V, 104:17 is the same. Dr. Chiera who kindly collated the passage informs me that "the sign is probably *it,*" of which he sees clear traces.

219. *LAL-LAL-GISGAL* = ḫ a l-p i-a = *ḫal-pi-u-um,* occurs *UMBS* V, 102, IV, 3, and in 104, III, 21 the values ḫ a l-b i = *ḫal-p*[*u-u*], are given, which are the values of the previous sign, line 218 of the present text. H al-m a-a seems to be clear, but it perhaps is to be read ḫ a l-p a-a.

221. Cf. g u r = *na*[*ak-rum*], *UMBS* V, 104, III:23.

225. *QA* is called here s i-l u-u, but compare the name p a-a p-p u-d i-e š-š e-k u "pappu with deššu," *CT* 12, 16:17. In *UMBS* V, 104, III, 26, g a-a = *gu*[*-u*] occur.

227. [*Mi*]*širtu* is restored from *UMBS* V, 102, IV:15, cf. also 104, III, 27.

228–231. The signs unfortunately are poorly preserved, or wanting, cf. *CT* 12, 16:29 ff.

232. In connection with the value *našarbuṭu,* cf. *KAŠ-KAŠ-MEŠ* (variant *BU-BU-MEŠ*) = *mut-taš-ra-bi-ṭu-ti, R* IV, 2:4b.

241. If the name n u-u n-n i m-n a-b i-l a-g a b-m i n-n a-b i is correctly read, it is the first appearance of the sign. In *CT* 12, 24:65b, *NUN* + *LAGAB* is found with the Sumerian value t u-u r, which does not appear to be registered in the recently published lists. The similarity between *NUN* + *LAGAB* = t u r, and *NUN-LAGAR* = t u r, which some regard as variants, is to be noted.

242. The sign is restored on the supposition that g u b-b e represents *DU.*

260. Cf. ḫ a-a d = *ḫaṭṭu,* line 194.

264. U-g u-l a occurs, cf. *SAI* 3900, but with the value *a-bu* . . . .

265. The text seems to show that the character in the Sumerian name of Nabû is ḫ u, not e n, as in *CT* 12, 22, 38180:5. This is preceded by another sign. King kindly informs me that in the London text there does not seem to be room for an extra character.

266. Cf. S u-u l-l a t = *PA* = ^{d}. . . . *CT* 12, 22, 38180:6. The present text shows that the Sumerian name of Nabû is Sullat.

267. In *CT* 12, 22, 38180:7, the second character given is *KUR.* In the present text *MAN* is clear; as well as *LUGAL.* King informs me that there are trances of MAN on the tablet in the British Museum, but the sign that follows *ilu* in the last column is very uncertain.

269. Cf. m u-d u-r u, also eme-sal = *ḫaṭṭi, Glossar,* p. 96.

274 to 280. Here are given the readings of the divisions of the *PI* in Sumerian and Semitic, cf. *CT* 11, 40, K 4383:32, where *BAR* has the value *za-a-at.* Pognon, *JA* 1913,

p. 411 f., ingeniously proposed that *BAR = 1 satum, PA = 2 satum*, etc. Instead of *šalâšti sât*, which is one-tenth of a gur, *ṣi-bat* is used, cf. ṣibtu = *ešrû*, Meissner, *ABP*, p. 109 f.

279. G i-d i-r i-g u-u in the name of this sign, as well as that of line 279, seems to mean "with a reed," or "one passed through".

282. *Tiqtu*, following *arratu*, apparently is from *qatû*, and means something like "vengeance".

285. Cf. *nu-us-su-u* = b a r *B* 1780.

288. It has been assumed that N i n i b was the Sumerian pronunciation of god's name written ^{d}*NIN-IB* and *MAŠ*. Others also read the name N i n-IB. The present text shows that both these writings were graphical expediencies adopted to represent the name of the deity (see below).

290. Is this sign composed of *Šu*(m a š t e n) and *BE*(*i z a*)? If so, the latter is peculiar. Cf. *IM* = n i-i = *puluḫtu*, *S*^{c} 285 (B 8366).

292. *ŠU* + *EŠ* is new.

295. Š u-u š = *saḫâpu*, *Glossar*, p. 265; also cf. š u, *B* 10839.

299. Cf. *ŠU-ER*^{ki} = K i-N i-i š^{ki} (*B* 7087), which is apparently to be read K i-í-i š^{ki}.

303. Both the character and the name indicate that not *KAŠ* but *ŠE* is inserted. *B* 10875, and *SAI* 8357, insert *KAŠ*. In *CT* 11, 39, *K* 4151, Rev: 27 ff. the *ŠE* is clearly written.

310, 314. *ŠUŠŠANA-IŠ* with *SIL* inserted, is new, but it is to be identified with *B* 11311 ff., which has the same values.

Ur-ta the Sumerian Reading of NIN-IB, line 288.

The discovery that the name of the god written ideographically ^{d}*MAŠ* and ^{d}*NIN-IB* as reproduced by אנושת in Aramaic in the late Babylonian period (see the writer's *BE* X, p. XVII), showed that it had not been read Ninib, Ninraq, etc., at least in that period. Certain scholars, however, considered that while *IB* was an ideogram, the first element was read n i n in Sumerian. In consequence they have transcribed the name N i n-IB. The new syllabary, as above, shows that *NIN*, as well as *IB*, was part of the ideographic writing, and that the pronunciation in Sumerian was U r t a. The question then arises, is the Aramaic equivalent אנושת quite distinct from the Sumerian U r t a, the one being Semitic and the other Sumerian; or have they something in common?

Scholars have not agreed upon the etymology and vocalization of the Aramaic form. While some have accepted Enmaštu, more than a dozen other explanations have thus far been offered.[1] The reading of the new syllabary

[1] See *Amurru*, p. 196. Still more recent explanations are: Langdon *Babylonian Liturgies*, p. 147, who reads *Enurašat* (*Nin-uraša*), although it has long been demonstrated that the middle character is *r* and not *w*. Pognon *JA* 1913, p. 411, reads *AN-MAŠ* = *Anušat*, i. e., *AN* = *anu*, and *MAŠ* = *šat*. Thureau-Dangin *RA* XI, p. 81, accepts this reading. The writer sees no reason for departing from the reading *Enmaštu* or *Enwaštu*.

seems to confirm the view expressed, namely, that ^{d}*NIN-IB* is to be identified with ^{d}*MAR-TU,* which in time became *En-Martu* = *En-Maštu* or *En-Waštu.*

The existence has been established of the West Semitic god whose name is written in cuneiform: ^{d}*Amurru,* ^{d}*Amar,* ^{d}*Mar,* ^{d}*Mer,* ^{d}*Me-ir,* ^{d}*We-ir,* ^{d}*I-li-Me-ir,* ^{d}*I-lu-Mi-ir,* ^{d}*I-lu-Me-ir,* also ^{d}*Uru,* ^{d}*Urra,* etc., and which is written in Aramaic: אמר, מר, אור, אר, ור and אל-ור.[2] It has also been established that ^{d}*MAR-TU* or *Amurru* = אור (see *BE* X, p. 8), and it is highly probable that ^{d}*DINGIR-MAR-TU,* which occurs so frequently upon the seals of the first dynasty, is to be identified with ^{d}*I-lu-Me-ir* and אל-ור, following a West Semitic custom of pronouncing the word "god" in connection with the name of the deity, like "God-Mer;" cf. *El-Shaddai, El-Elyon,* Ἄλωρος, ^{d}*Il-Tammeš,* ^{d}*Il-Teḫri,* ^{d}*Il-Teri,* ^{d}*Il-Ḫallabu,* etc.[3]

It has not been determined definitely whether *TU* of ^{d}*MAR-TU* has an ideographic value, perhaps *erêbu,* or whether it was originally the Semitic feminine ending. See on this the discussion of Prince *AJSL* 1914, p. 214. Although it is by no means essential to the proposed identification, it would seem from the discovery of the reading *Ur-ta* that it was probably a feminine ending; i. e., *Mar-tu* was originally the consort of *Mar,* like *Anu* and *Antu.* And subsequently, after these signs had been recognized as an ideogram for the name of the deity, and of the country, the goddess became masculinized. This is known to have occurred in not a few instances.[4] In no other way, it seems, can the element *NIN* "lady" in the ideograms ^{d}*NIN-IB,* ^{d}*NIN-GIR-ZU,* etc., be explained. It is, therefore, reasonable to assume, after *Martu* or *Urtu* had become known as a male deity, that the element *EN* "lord" was prefixed, i. e., *En-Martu,* which passed into *En-Maštu,* or *En-Waštu;* and this was handed down in Aramaic

[2] See *Amurru,* p. 107 f., 156 f; Schiffer *OLZ* 1909, col. 478; and Dhorme *RA* VIII, 97 f.).

[3] Cf. *ibid.* where the writer has shown that the West Semitic deity figured prominently in the anti-diluvian list of Babylonian kings handed down by Berosus, namely, Ἄλωρος = אל-אור or אל-ור; Ἀλαπαρος = אלפ-אור; Ἀμίλλαρος = עמל-אור or Amêl-Uru; Μεγαλαρος = מגל-אור; and perhaps also Ἀροδατης contains the element (see *ibid.,* p. 63 ff.). To this list should be added the name of king Σεμηχορος, the father of Gilgamesh's mother, who is mentioned in a fable by Aleian. (Cf. *De Natura Animalium,* 12:21), which name, together with *Gilga-Mesh,* seems to be West Semitic; and is equal to סמכ-אור; cf. סמכ-יהו and יסמכ-יהו of the Old Testament.

[4] Cf. Barton *Semitic Origins,* p. 123 f., *Amurru,* p. 200, and Paton, "Anum and Ishtar," Hastings *Encl. of Rel.*

characters, אנוש. Probably it would be more correct to say that *Martu* and *Maštu* are dialectical variations.[5]

The name of a deity with the prefix *En* has many parallels, cf. *En-A-num, En-abzu, En-Buzur, En-Engur, En-Uru, En-Ur-ta,* etc. (See Deimal *Pantheon Babylonicum,* 115 ff.) It is quite probable that in the last mentioned, namely, *En-Ur-ta* (*CT* 24, 25:101), we have the deity's name. And, moreover, it is not improbable that we have the early masculine form of the name in *En-Mer* of *En-Me-ir-kar,* one of the early rulers of the kingdom of Eanna (*UMBS* IV, 1,2:Col. II,13), and especially as *Me-ir* is the exact writing of the name so frequently found in the inscriptions. But, as stated, the conjecture concerning the ending *TU* of *MAR-TU* is not essential in the identification of that deity with *NIN-IB.*

Additional proof for the identity of *Mar* and *Uru* with ^{d}*NIN-IB,* may be seen in $^{d\ u\text{-}rum}$*Uru(PIN)*=^{d}*NIN-IB ša al-li, CT* 25, 11:26; ^{d}*NIN-Uru(PIN)*=^{d}*NIN-IB, CT* 25, 12:20; ^{d}*MAR*=^{d}*NIN-IB,* R III, 57:81cd, etc.

Taking the above into consideration, it seems quite reasonable to maintain that the two forms of the name written ideographically, ^{d}*NIN-IB* or ^{d}*MAS,* namely, U r t a in Sumerian and אנוש in Aramaic, are related. And also that ^{d}*NIN-IB* is but one of the ideographic forms which were adopted in the different centers for the writing of the name of the god or goddess of the Western Semites, known as אמר, אור, etc., which in time, like ^{d}*NIN-GIR-ZU,* etc., was identified as a distinct deity. Since ^{d}*NIN-IB* is a West Semitic deity, perhaps there is to be seen some connection between the names *Bît-*^{d}*NIN-IB,* near Jerusalem in the Amarna letters (55:31), and ^{âl}*Me-iš-tu* (256:25), mentioned as one of the cities of southern Palestine, in the land of *Gar.*[6]

[5] On the change of *r* and *š*, see Prince *Materials for a Sumerian Lexicon,* p. XII.

[6] It is not impossible that in some centre in the West the name of the West Semitic solar deity *Mar* or *Mer* appeared as *Gar* or *Gir;* especially since we know that the change of *g* and *m* or *w* is quite common. Years ago Jensen (*Cosmology* 480 f.) discussed at length the god *Gir,* showing that he was identified with and even took the place of Nergal, whose name in cuneiform is compounded with *GIR.* The West Semitic ^{d}*Amurru*(^{d}*KUR-GAL* and ^{d}*MAR-TU*) is called *Gir* (*CT* 24, 42:90-91); *Gir* is the son of Shamash (*CT* 25, 50:15); ^{d}*NIN-IB* is called *Girra* (*BE* 24, 4:3); Ningirsu, regarded the same as ^{d}*NIN-IB,* is written *NIN-GIR-ZU* and *NIN-ZU-GIR;* Šar-rabû is explained as *Šar-girra* of *Mar*^{ki}*;* and Adad is called *Gir-gir-u* (*CT* 25, 17:31). The name of the West land *A-mur-ri-e* is written ^{mât}*GIR-GIR.* In short, it seems highly probable that *Gir* or *Ger* was an early importation from the West, where in the late period it is preserved in such names as גרמלך גרסכל גרהכל, etc.

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ADDENDA

Page 43, line 11, instead of *Î-ši-in* read *I-ši-in*.

The transliteration and translation of line 19 of the Esarhaddon Inscription, pp. 58 and 60, can now be completed. Prof. Prince has kindly suggested that the last word be read *zer-ba-biš*. The full line reads: *Ina qab-lu ù ta-ḫa-zi i-da-ai-i taš-mur-ma kul-lat na-ki-ri-ia lu-me-iš zer-ba-biš*. "In strife and battle do thou guard my sides, and let me wipe out all my enemies like grasshoppers."

Page 62, line 23, instead of Plate II, read Plate I.

AUTOGRAPHED TEXTS

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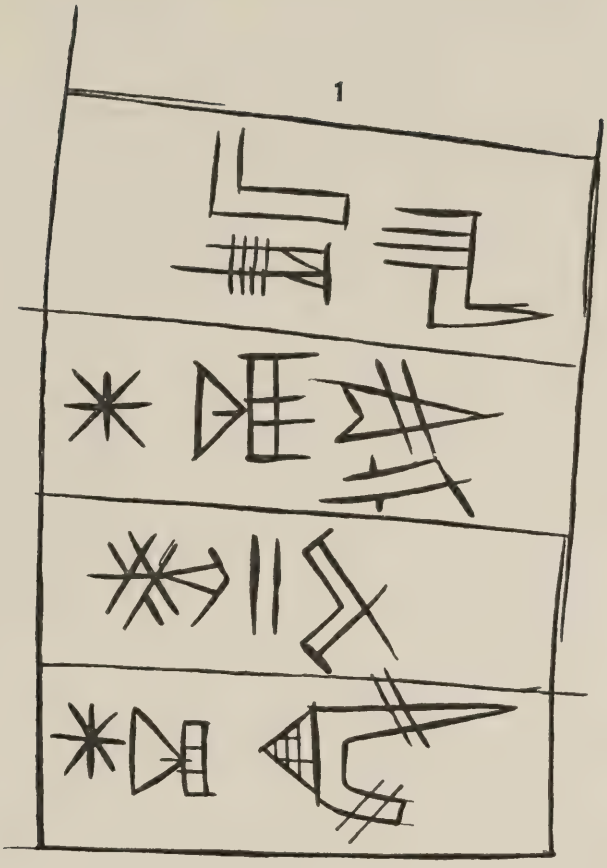

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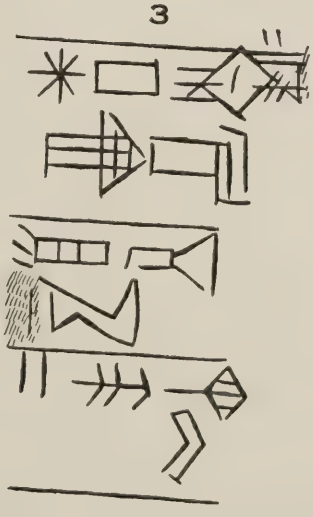

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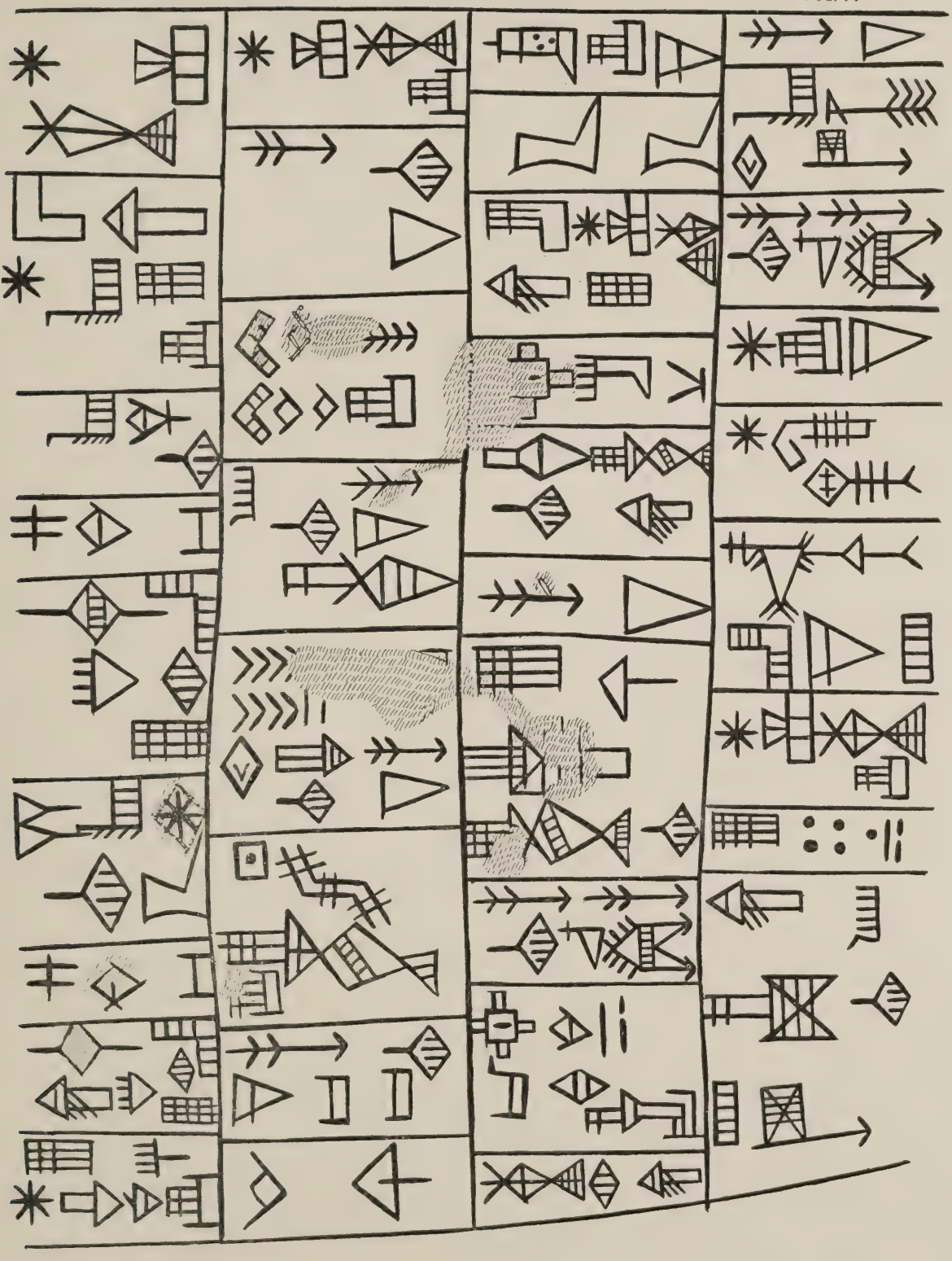

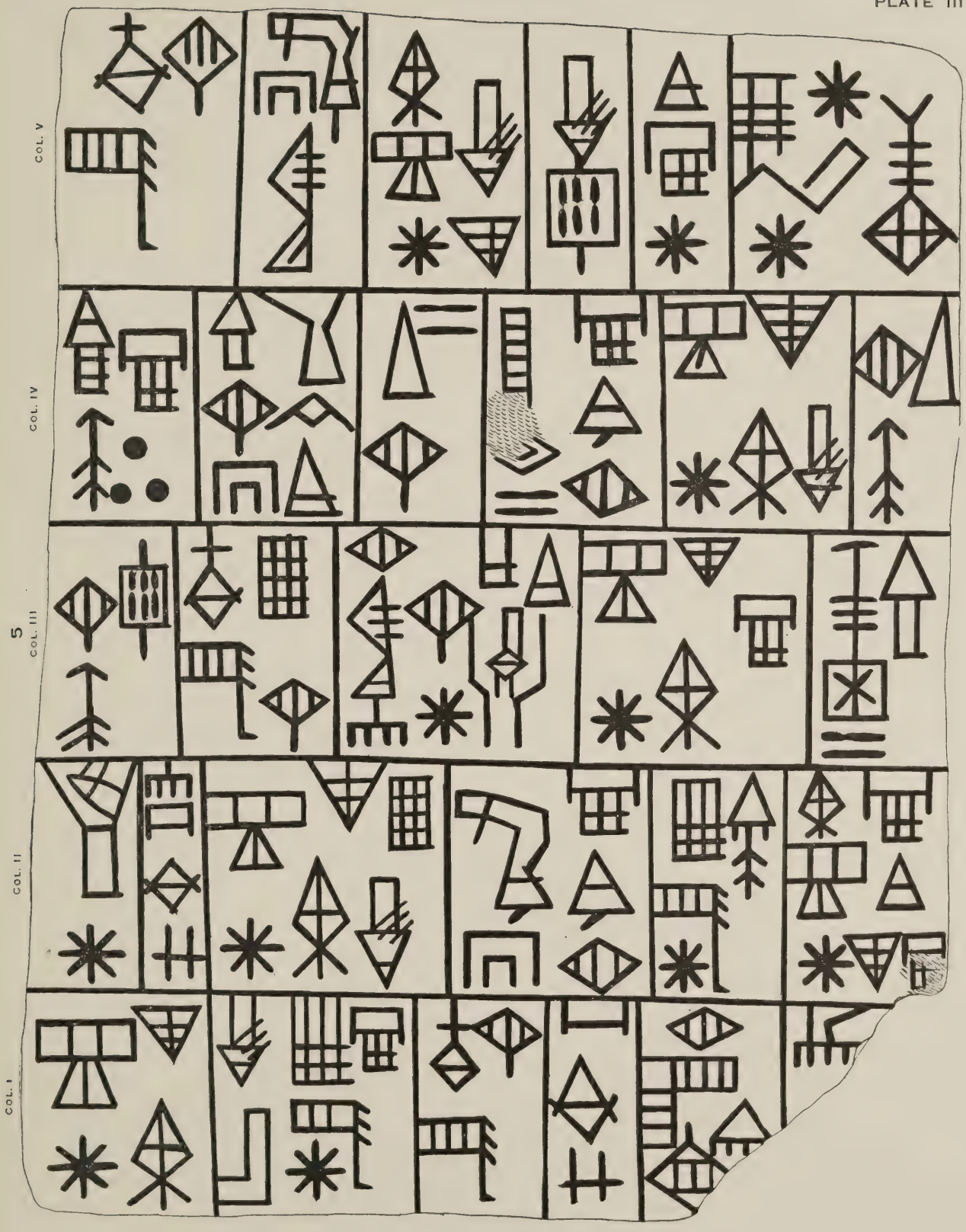
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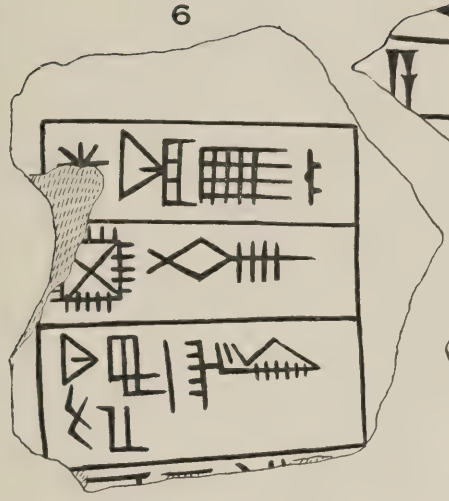

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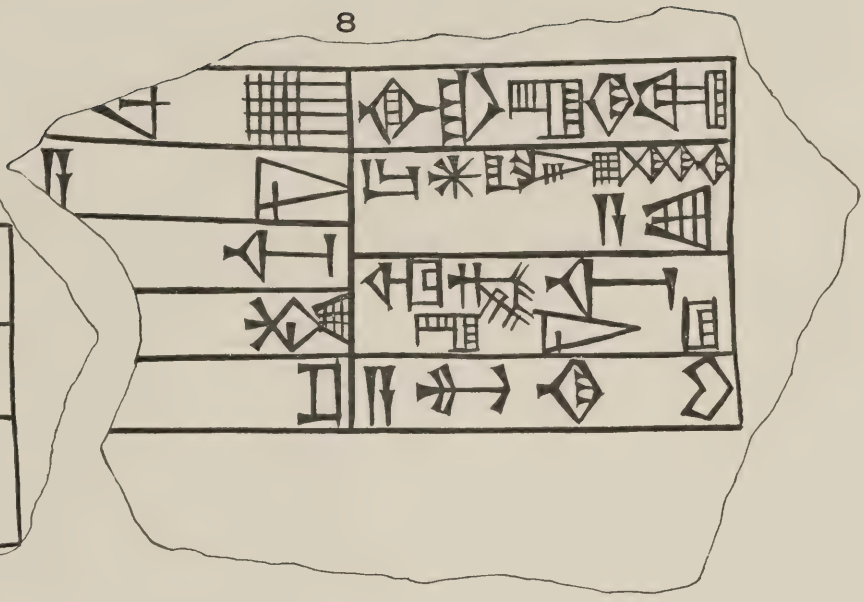

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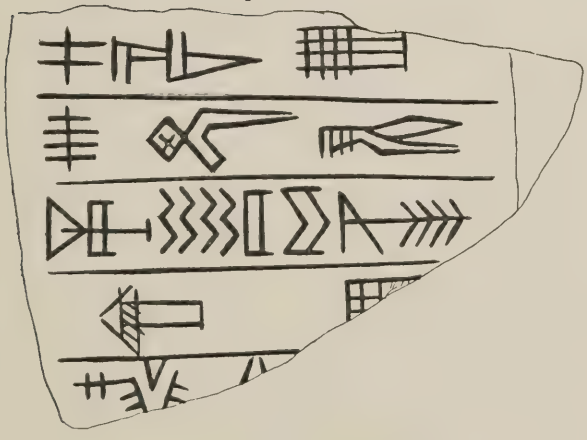

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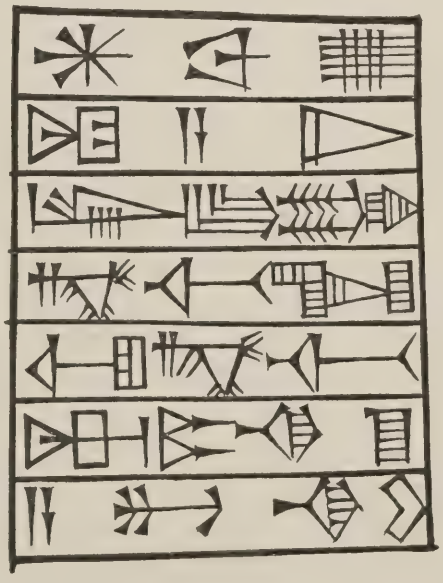

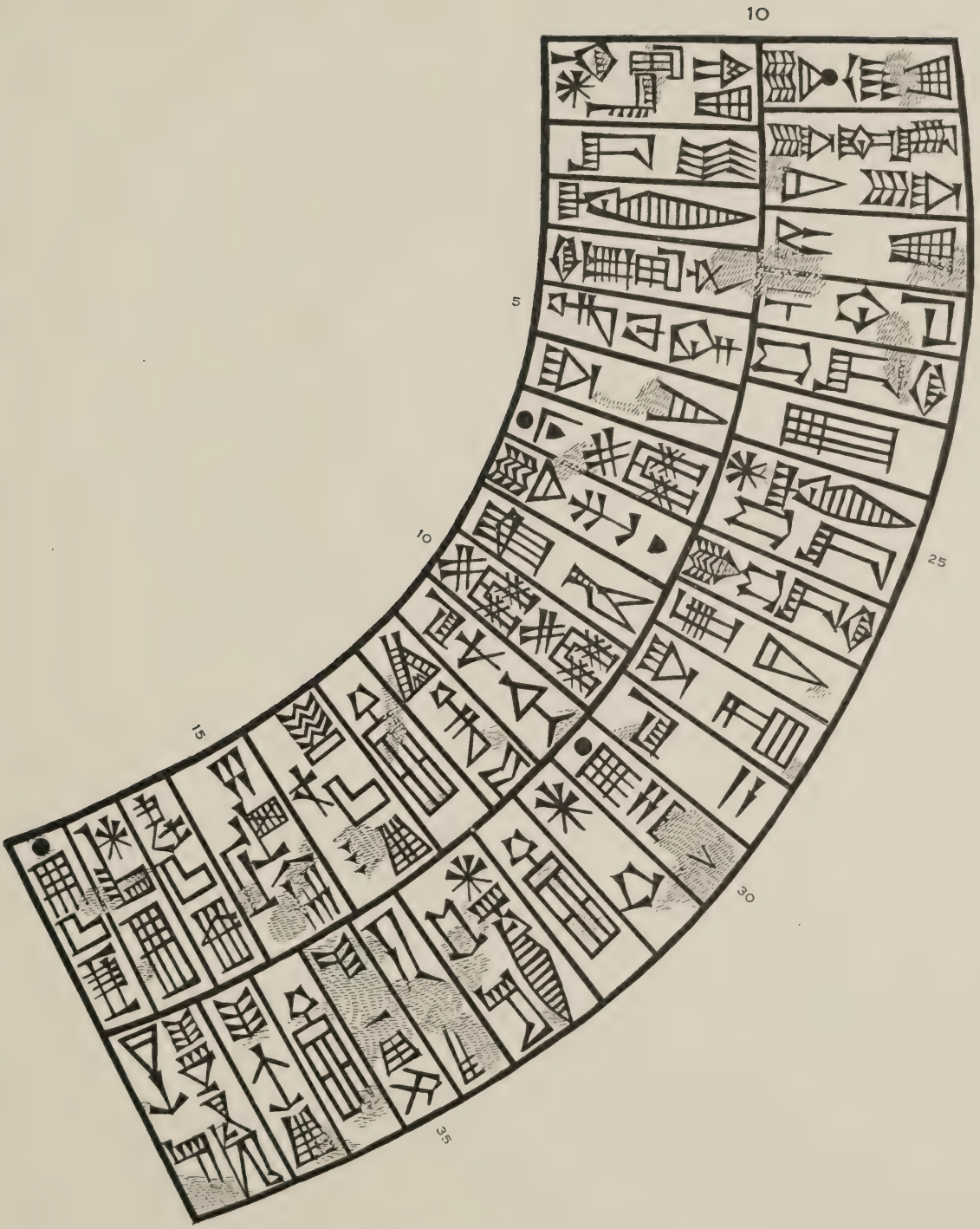
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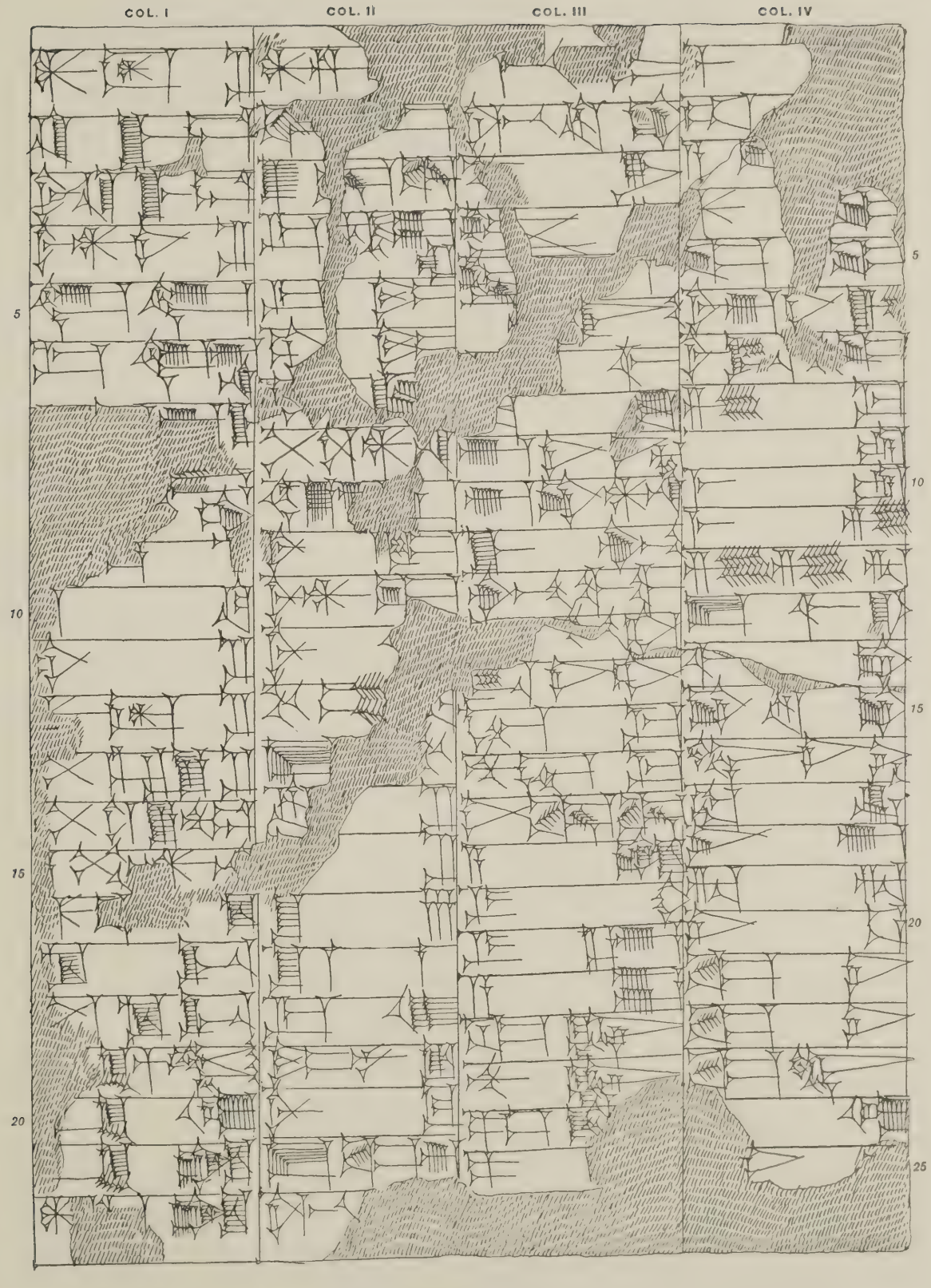

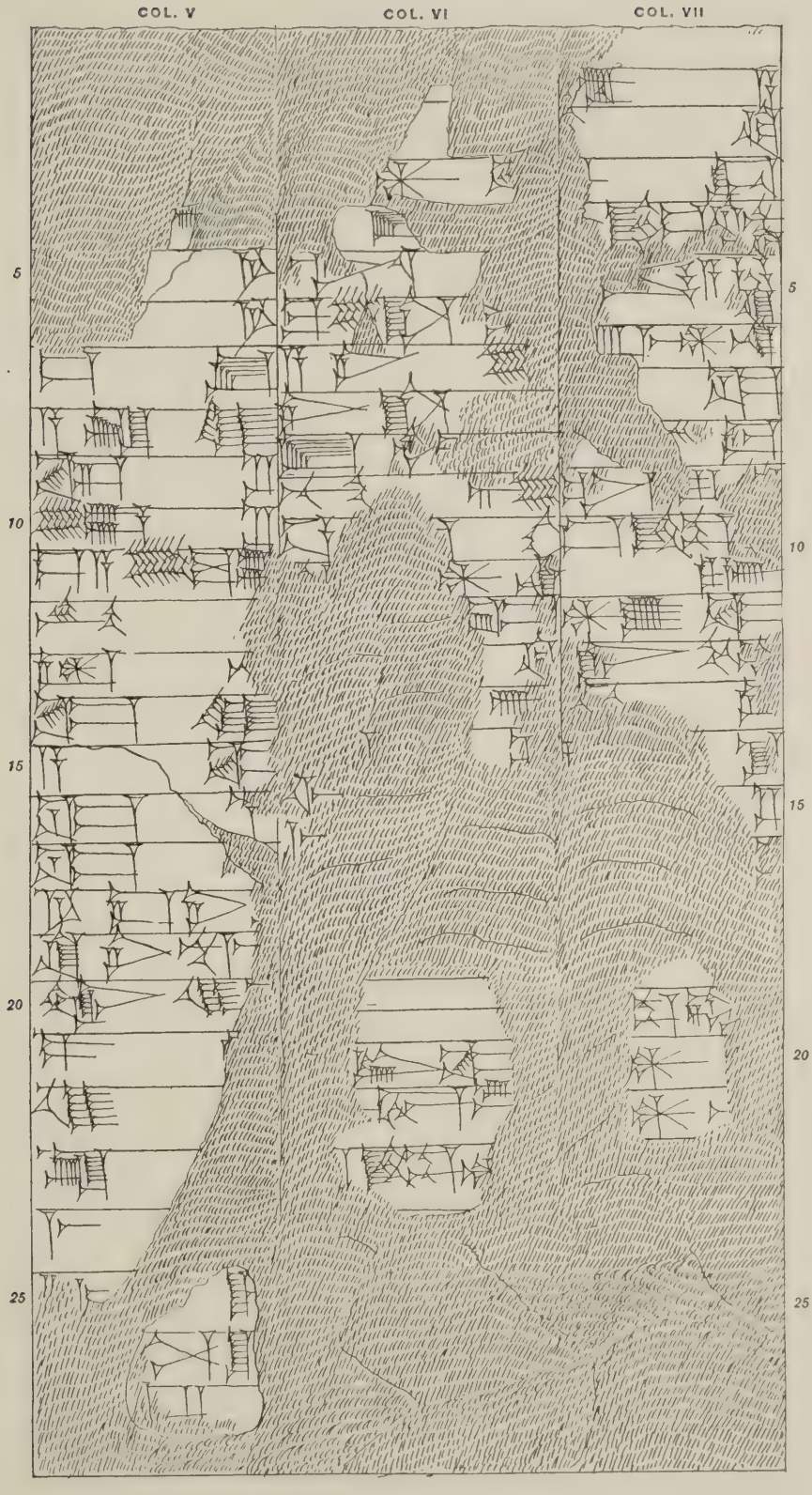
COL. V
COL. VI
COL. VII
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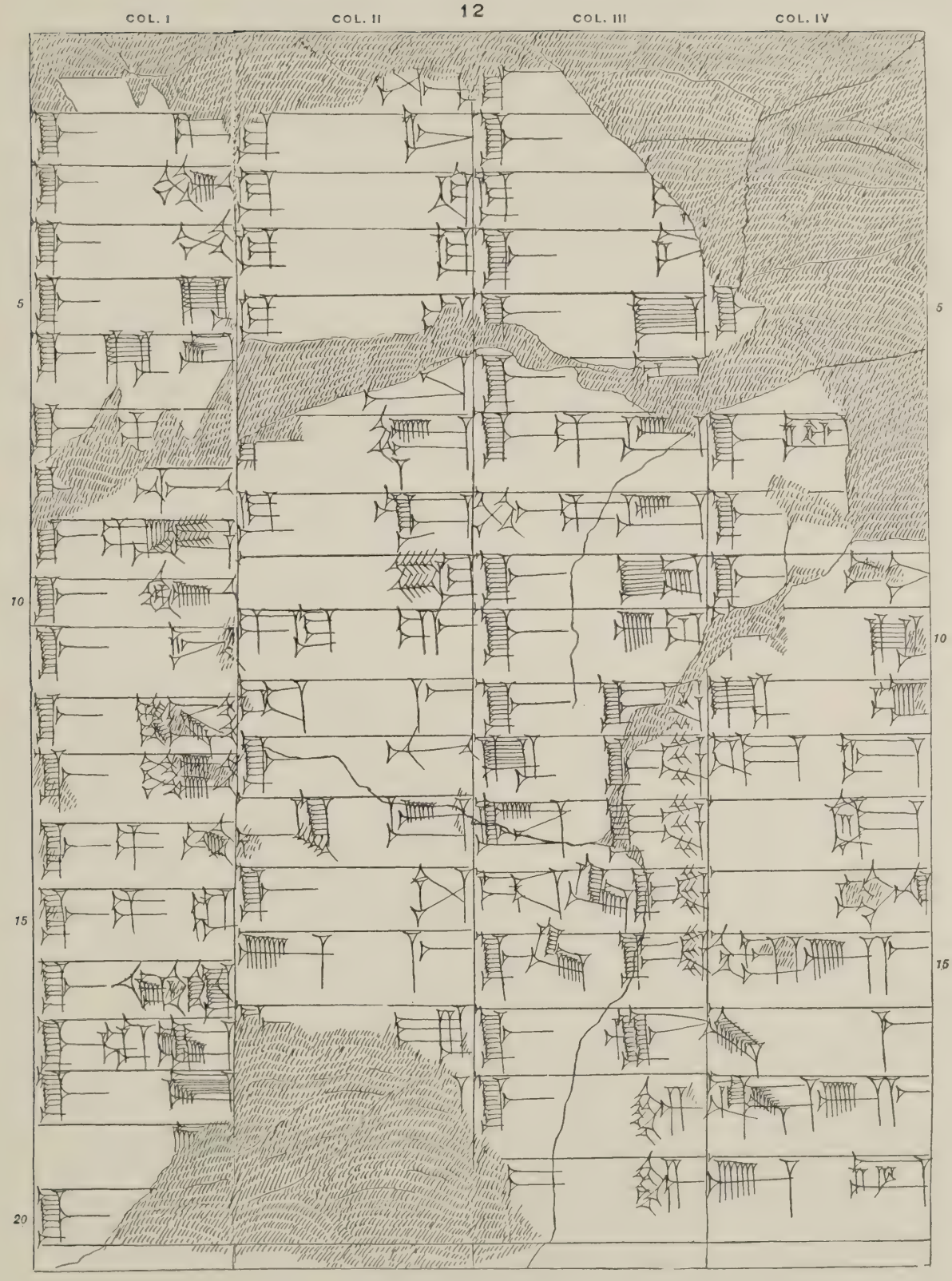

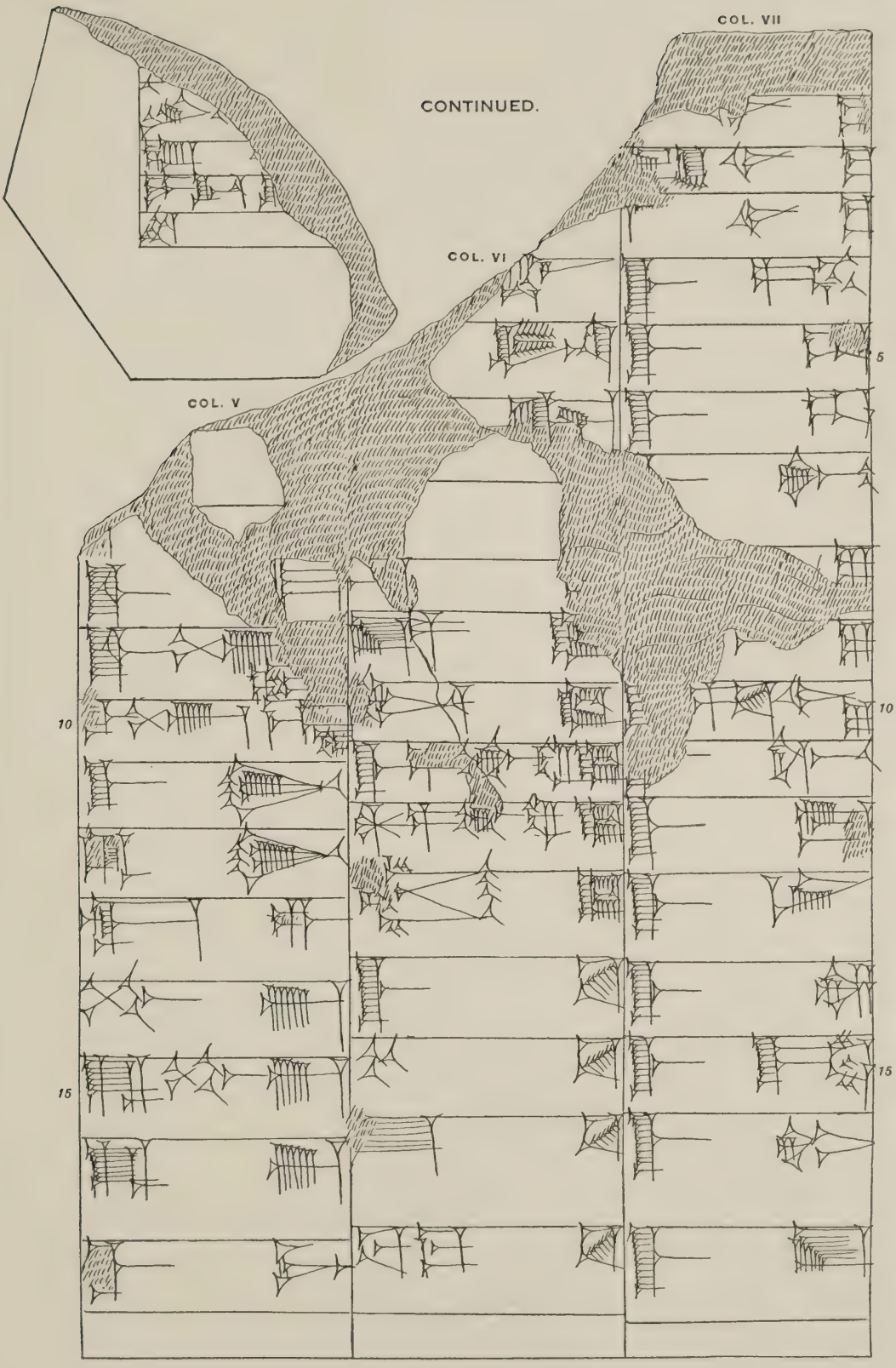
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COL. VI
COL. V
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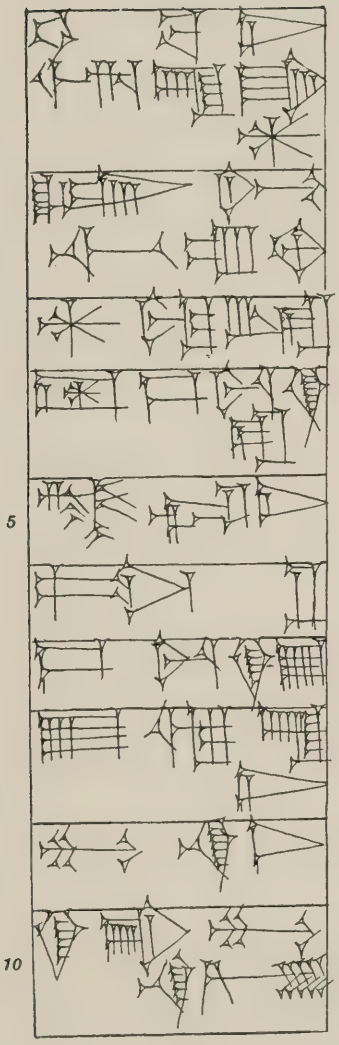

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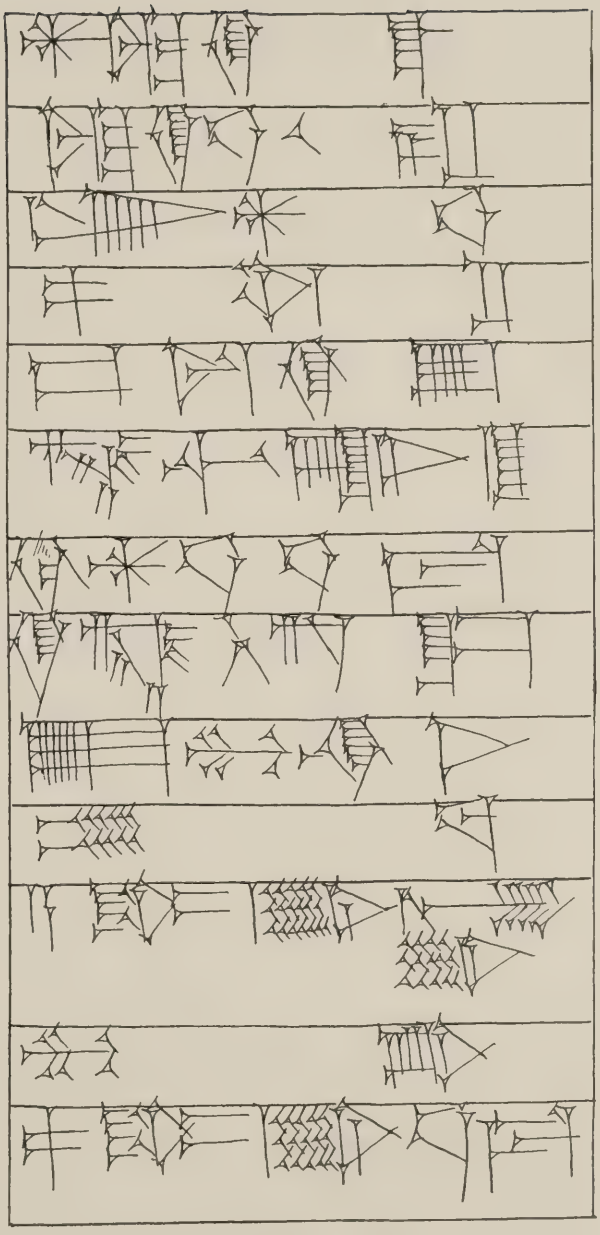

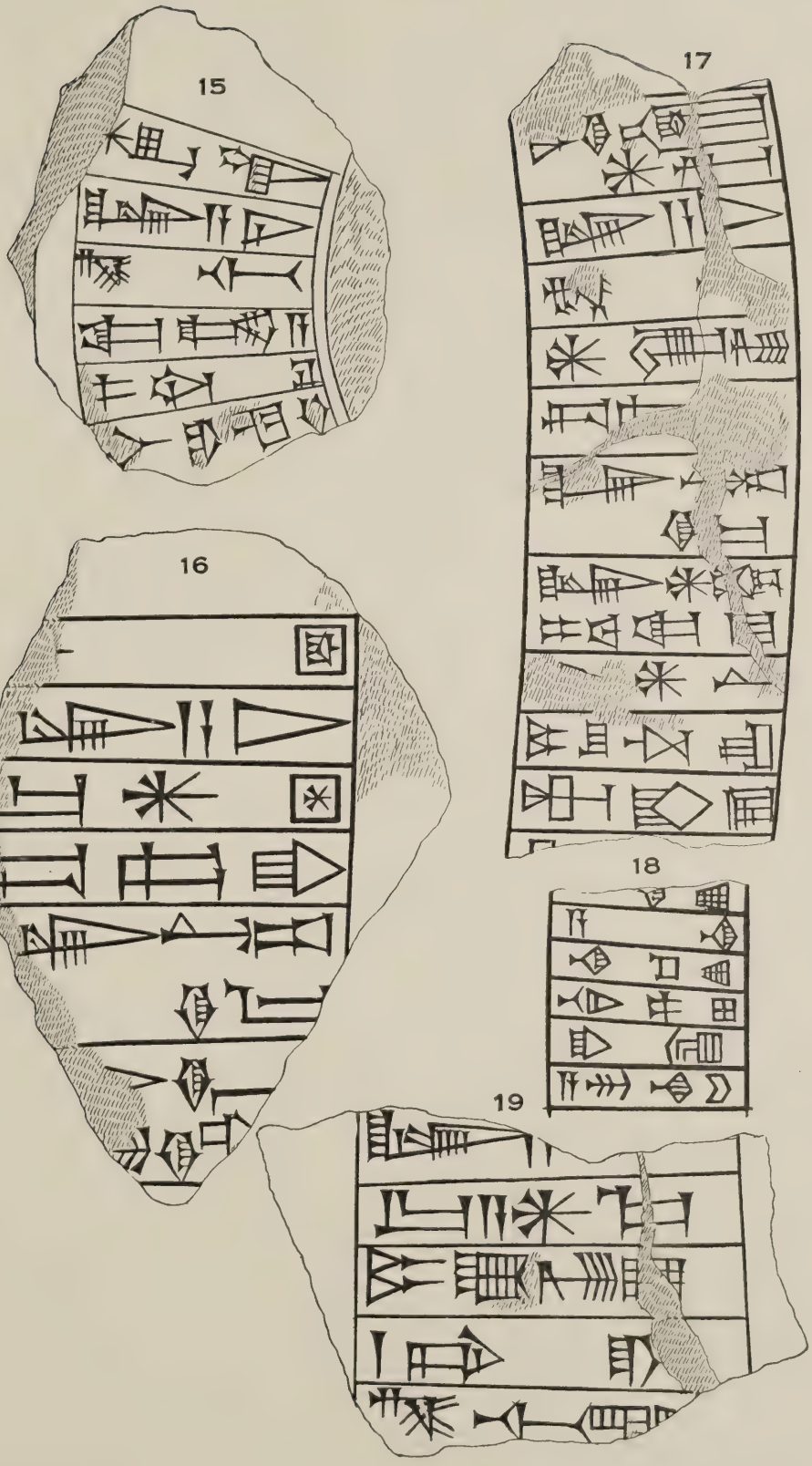
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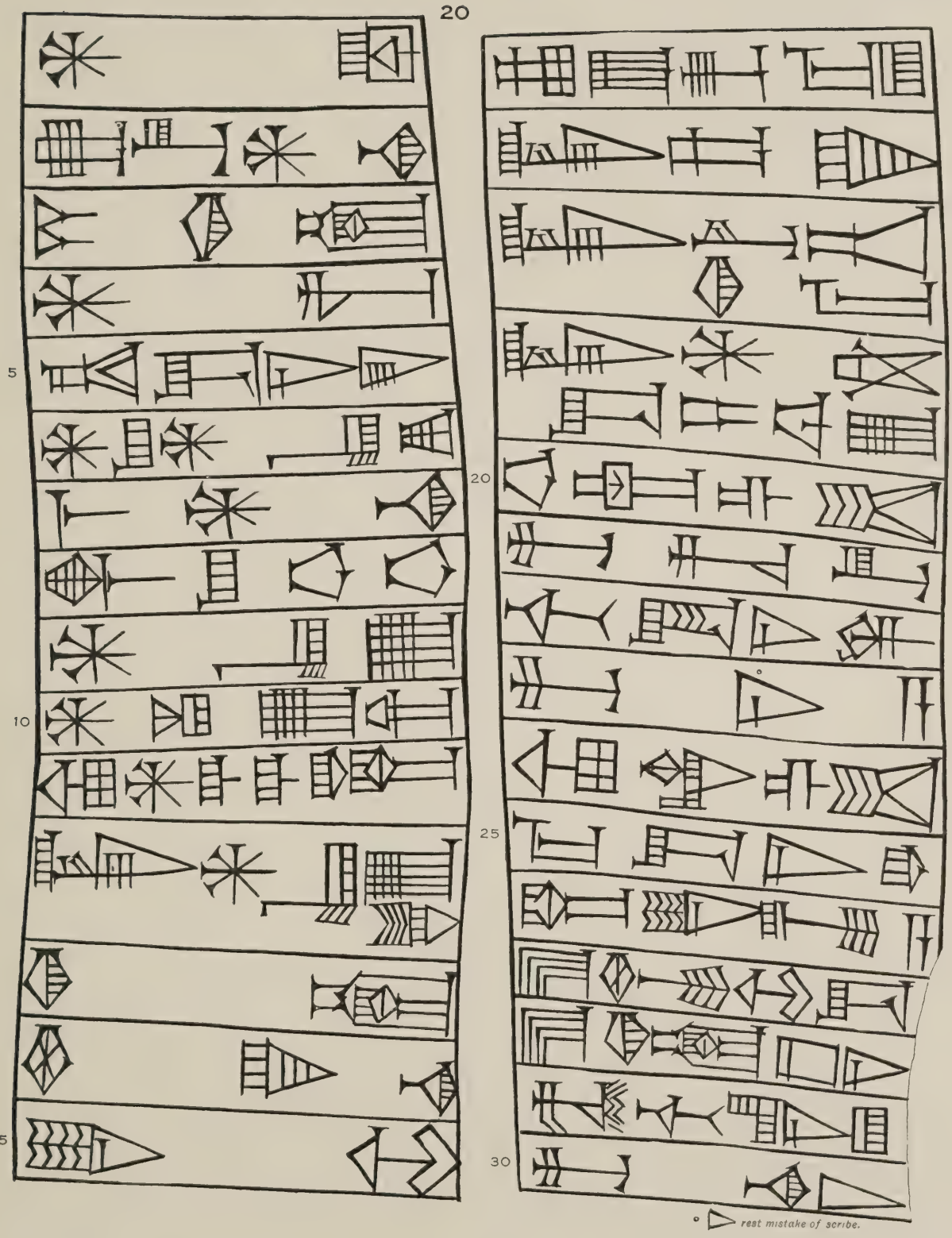

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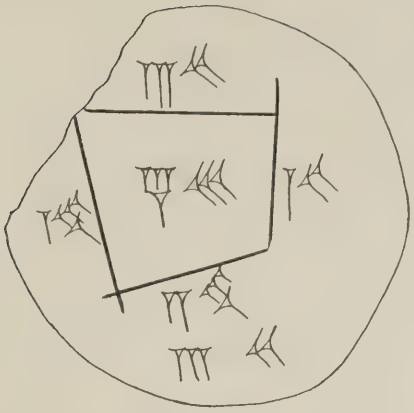

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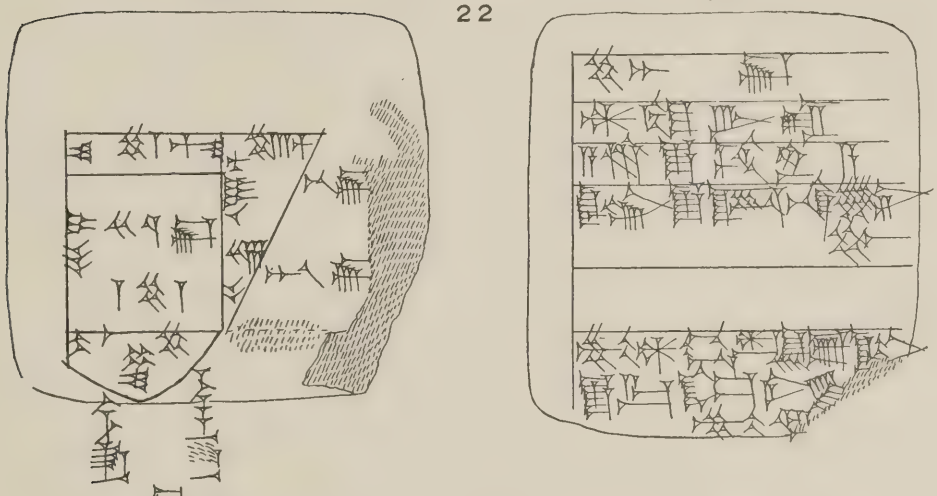

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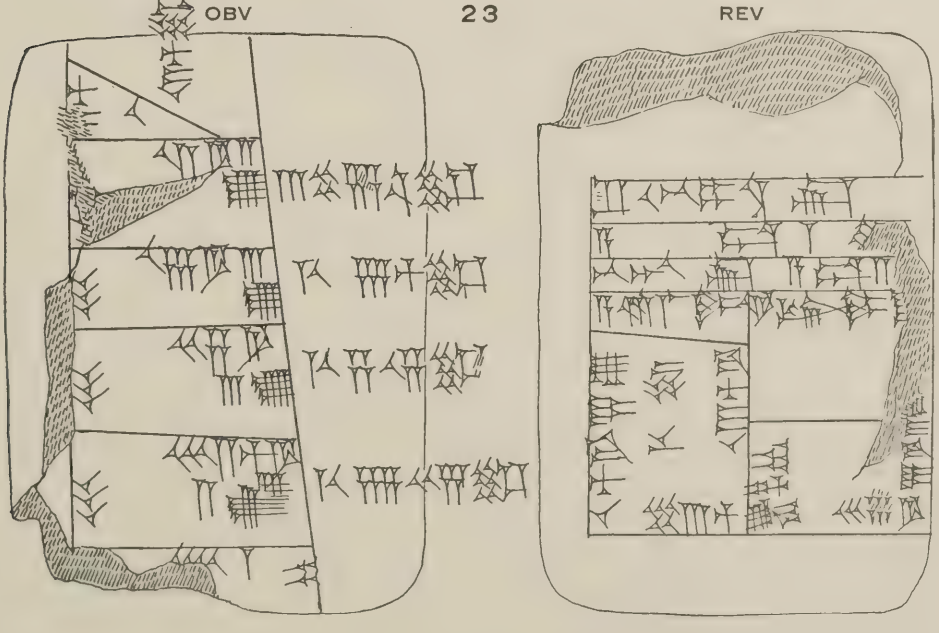

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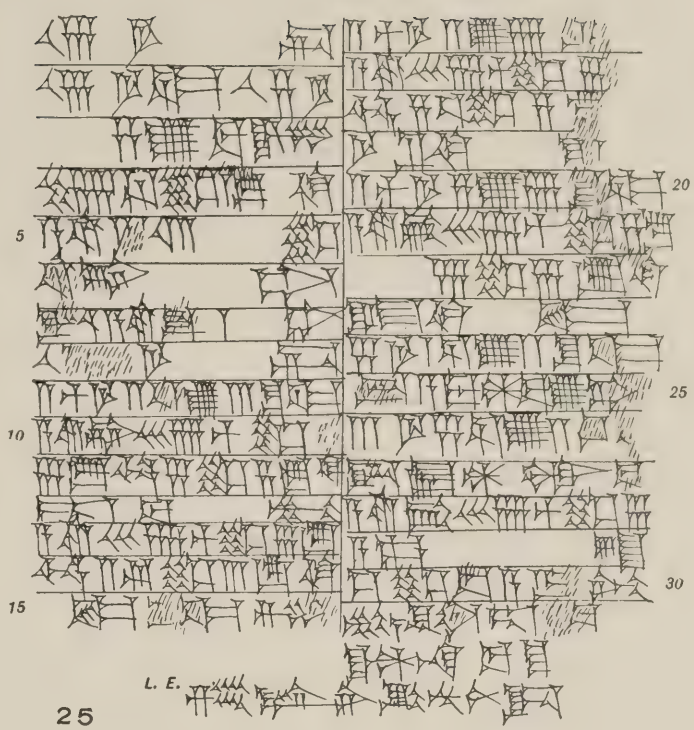

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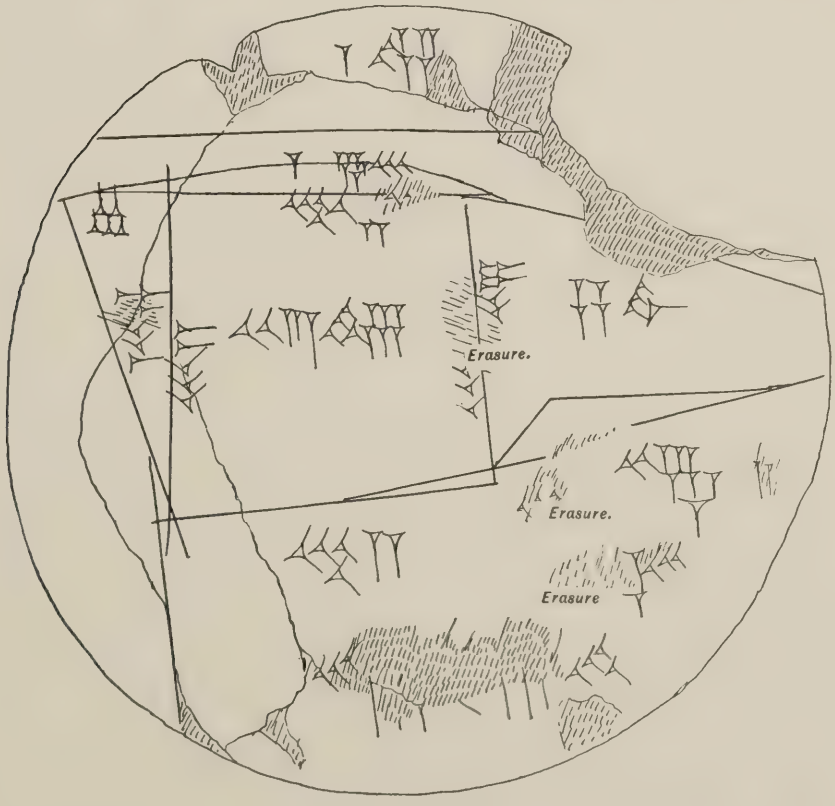

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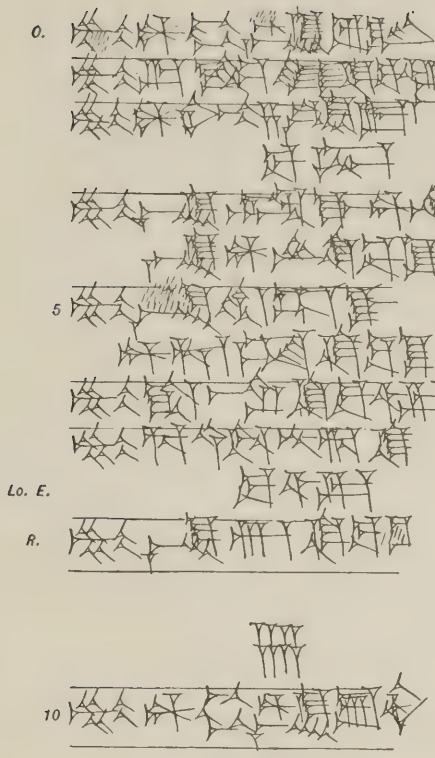

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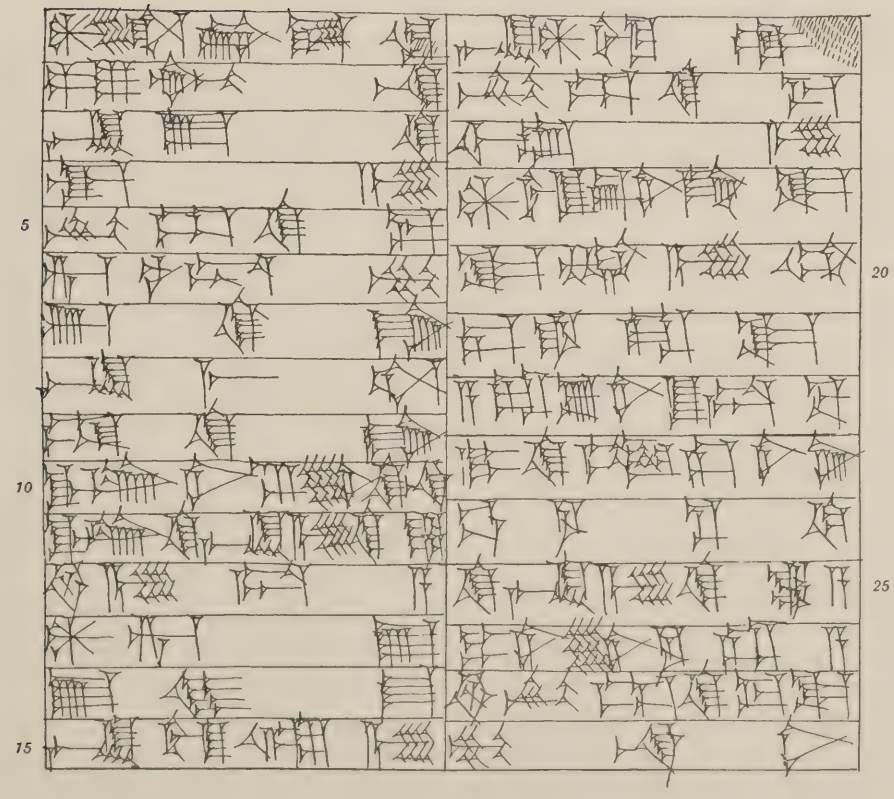

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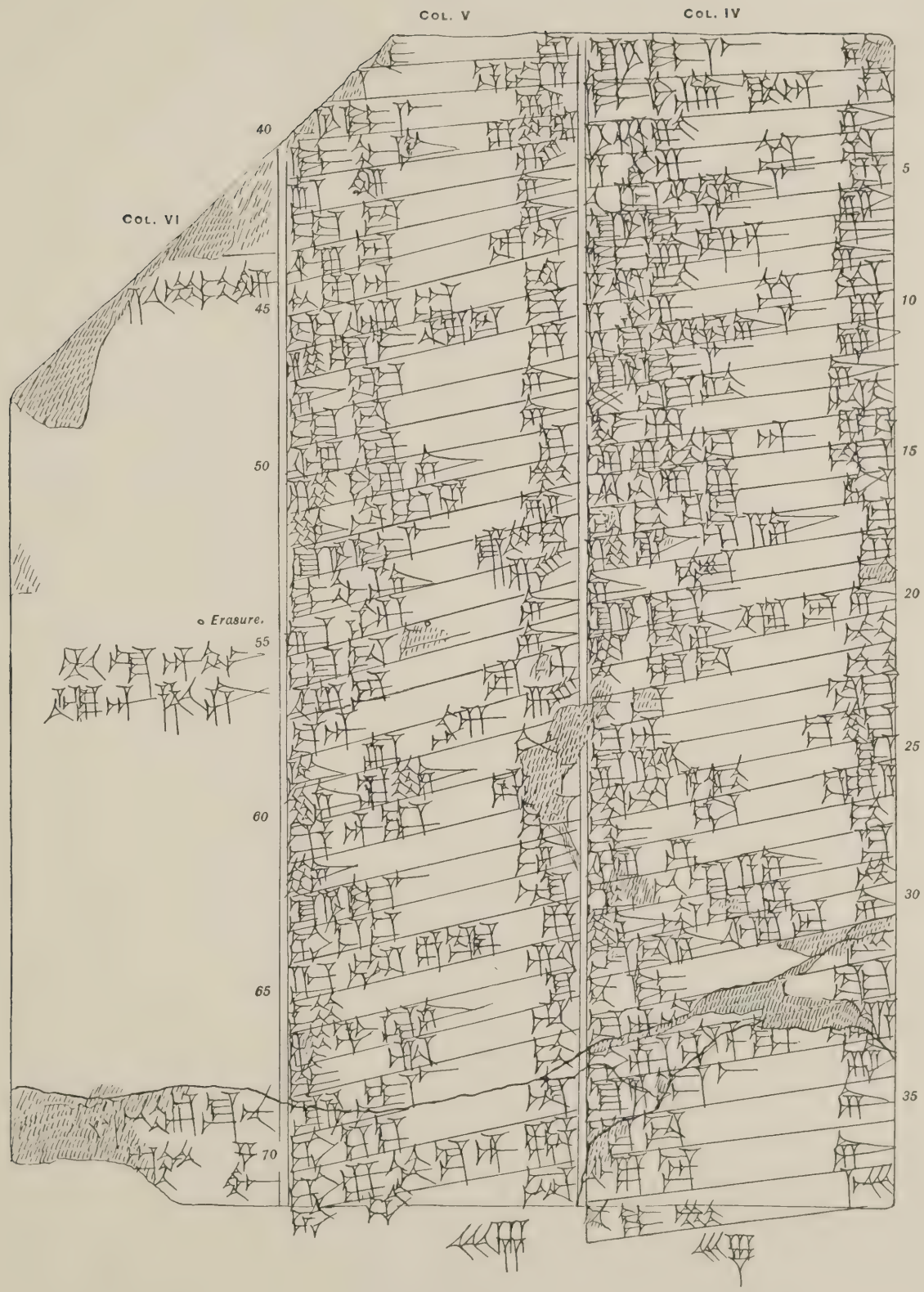

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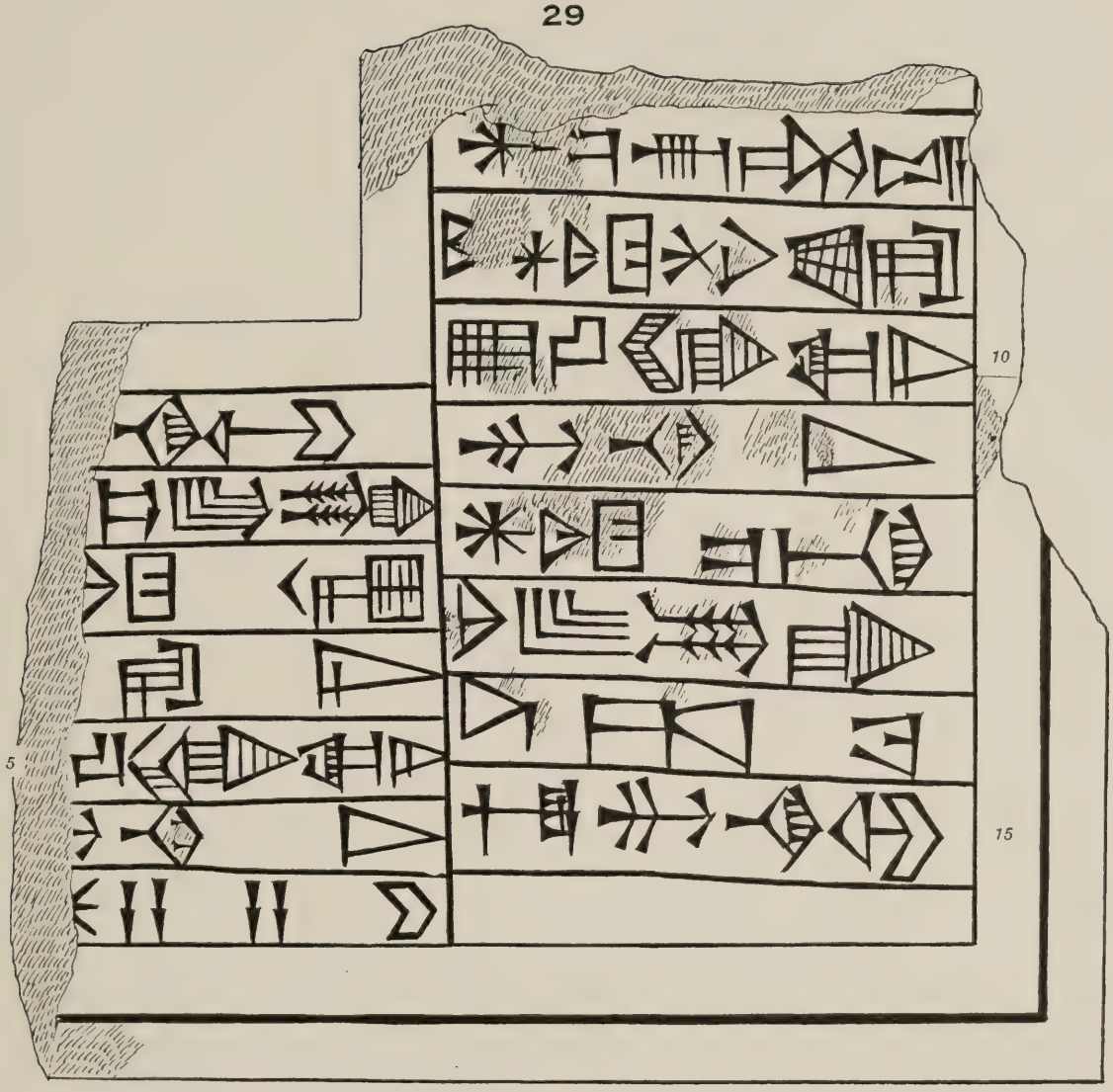

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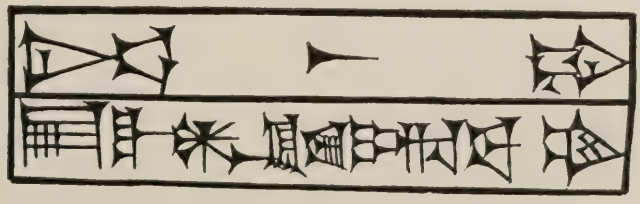

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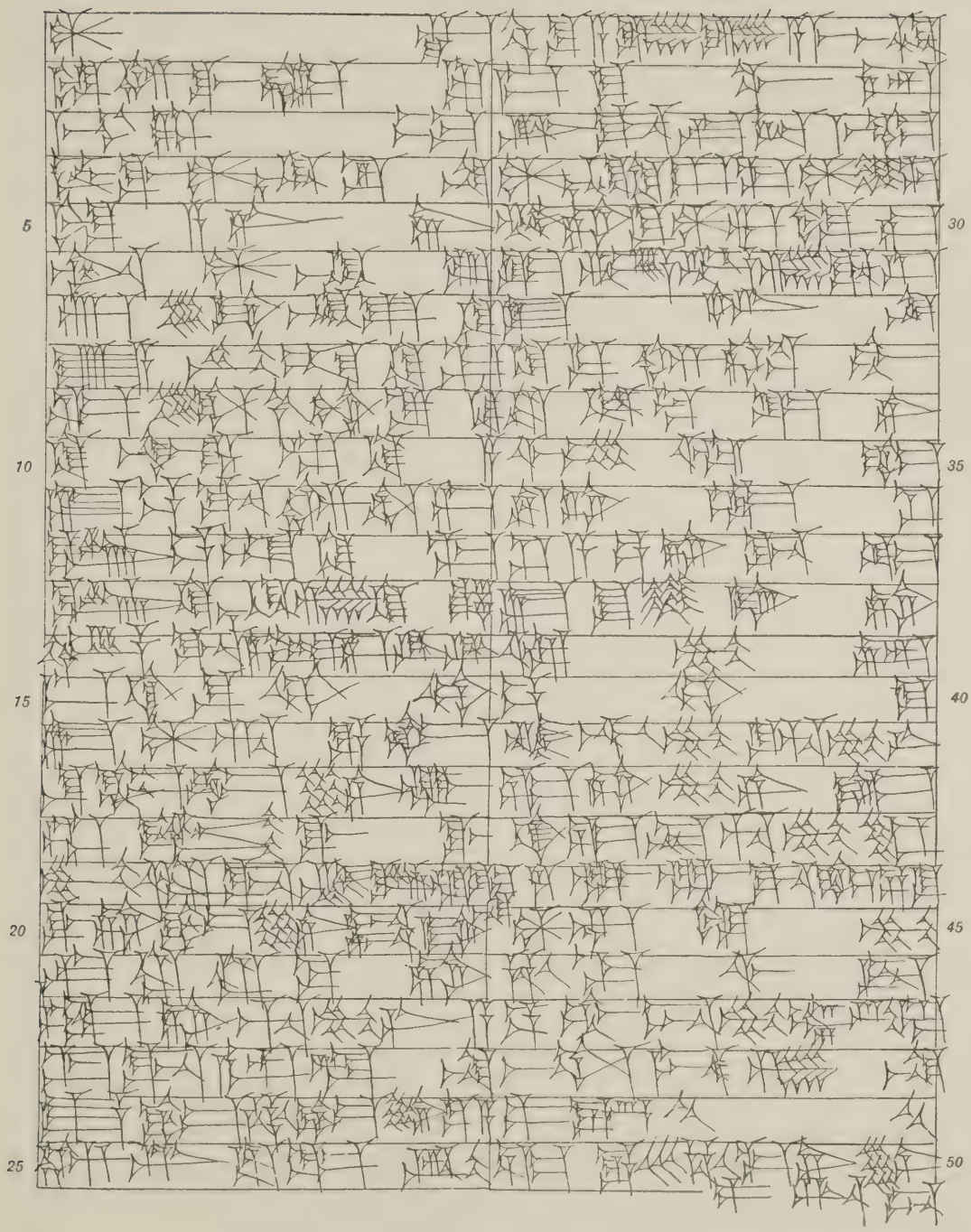

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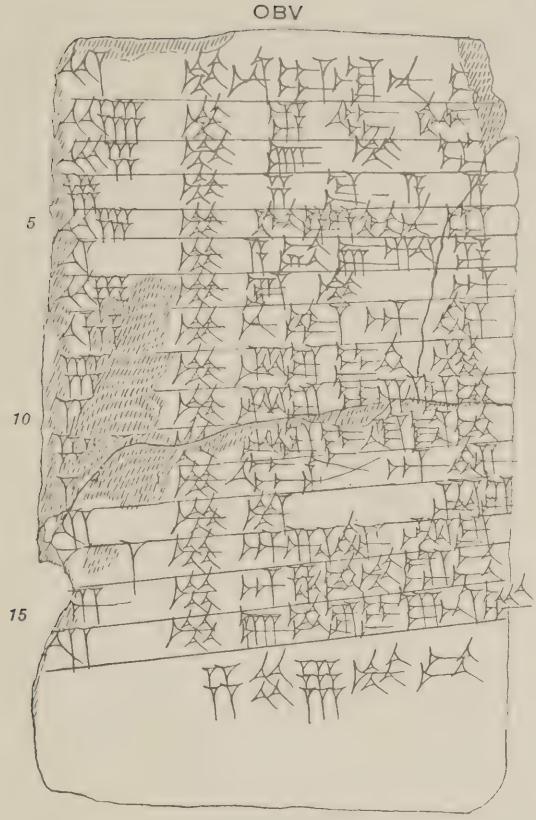

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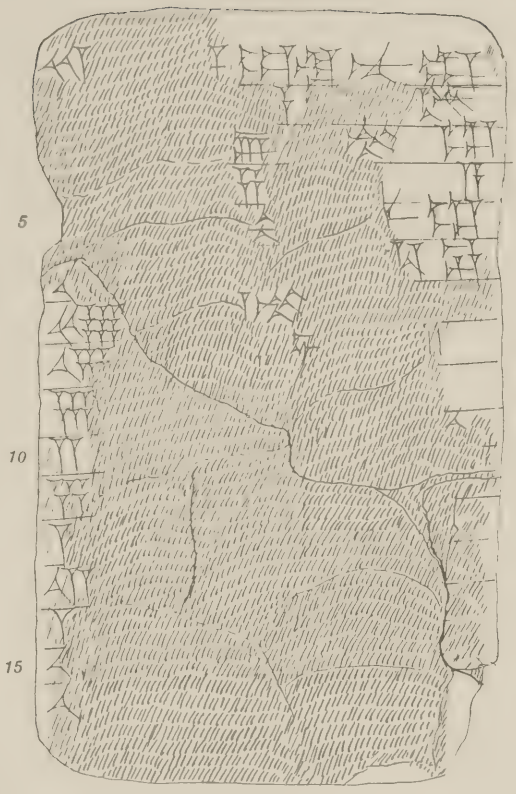

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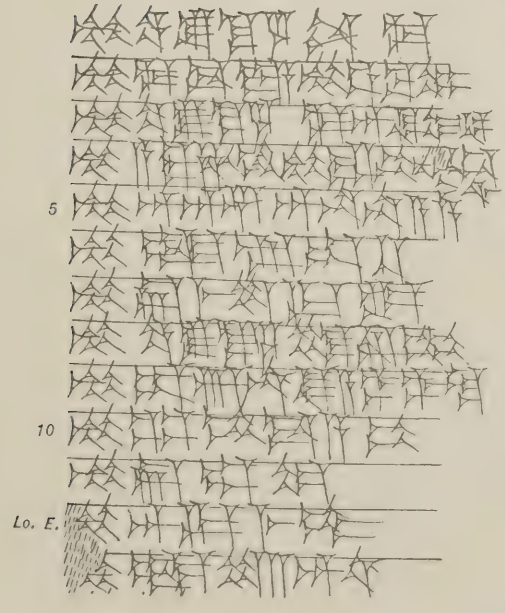

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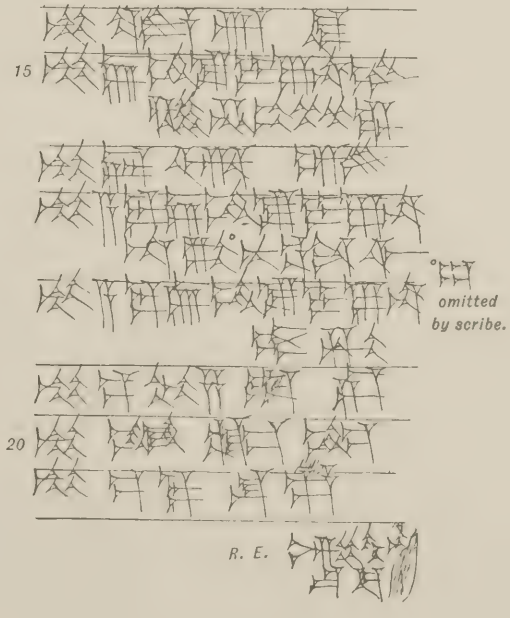

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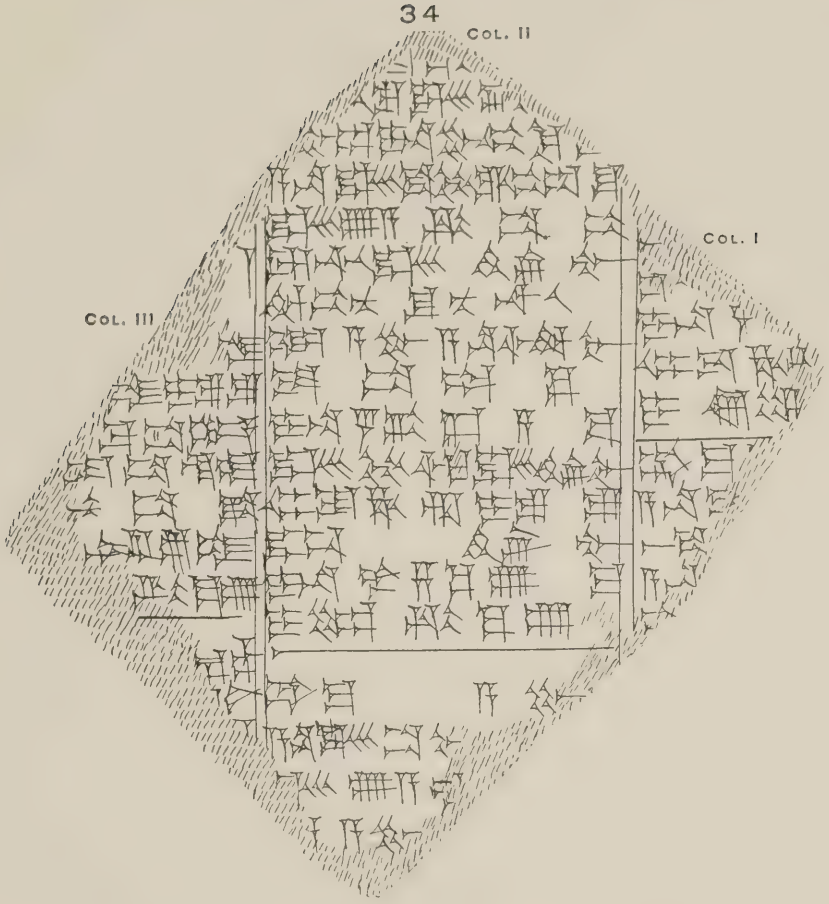

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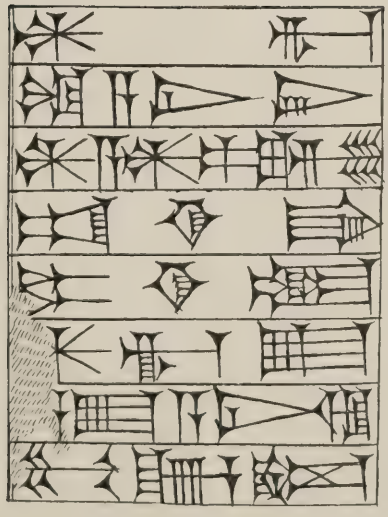

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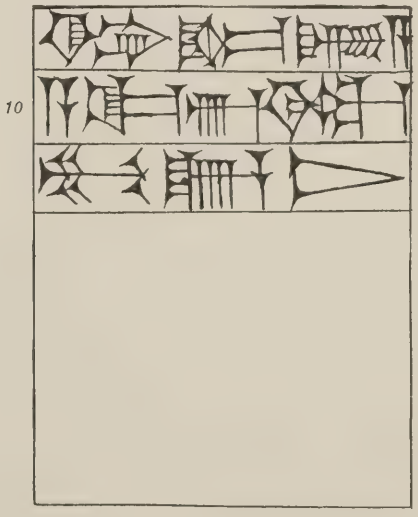

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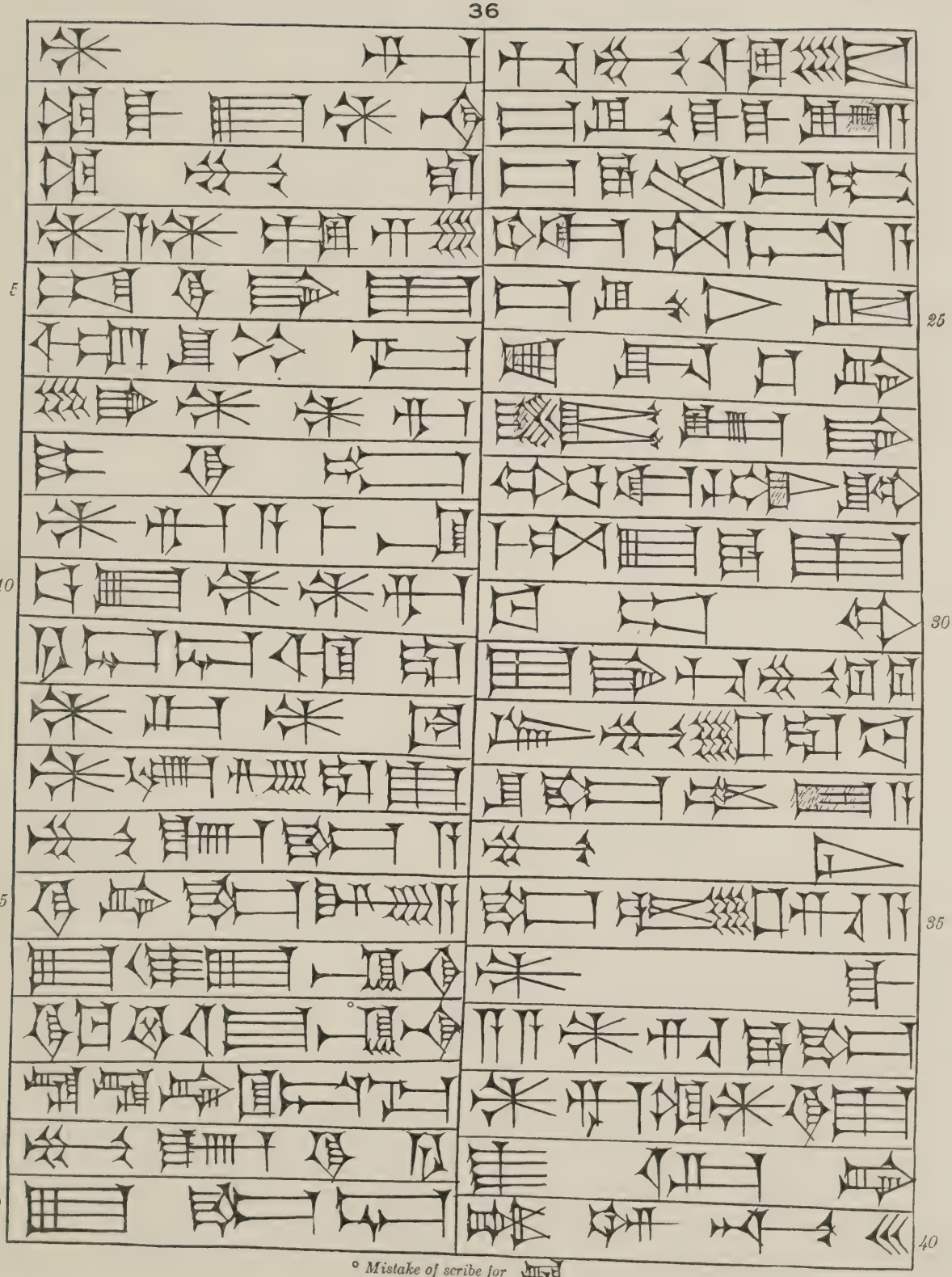
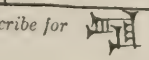


° *Mistake of scribe for* 

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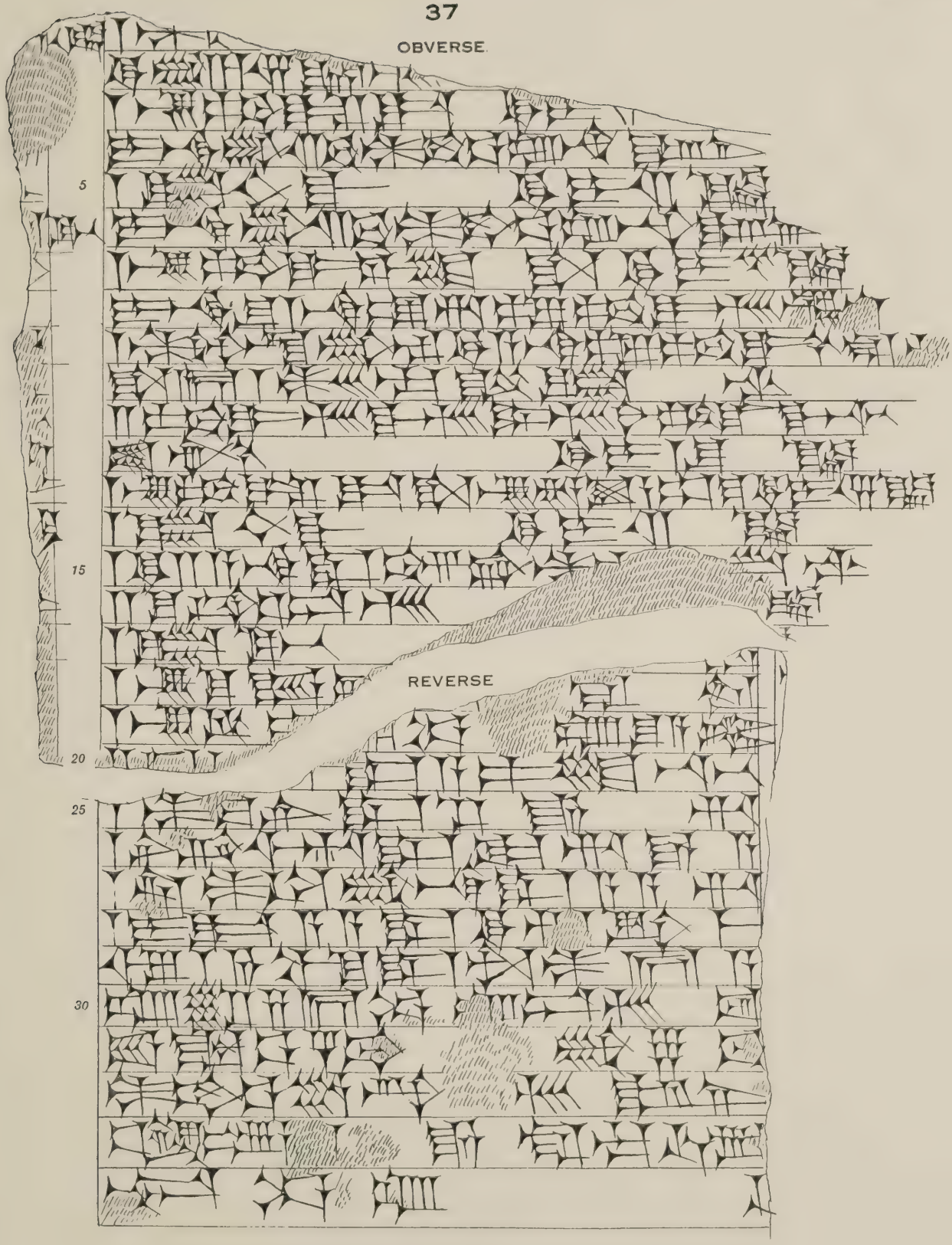

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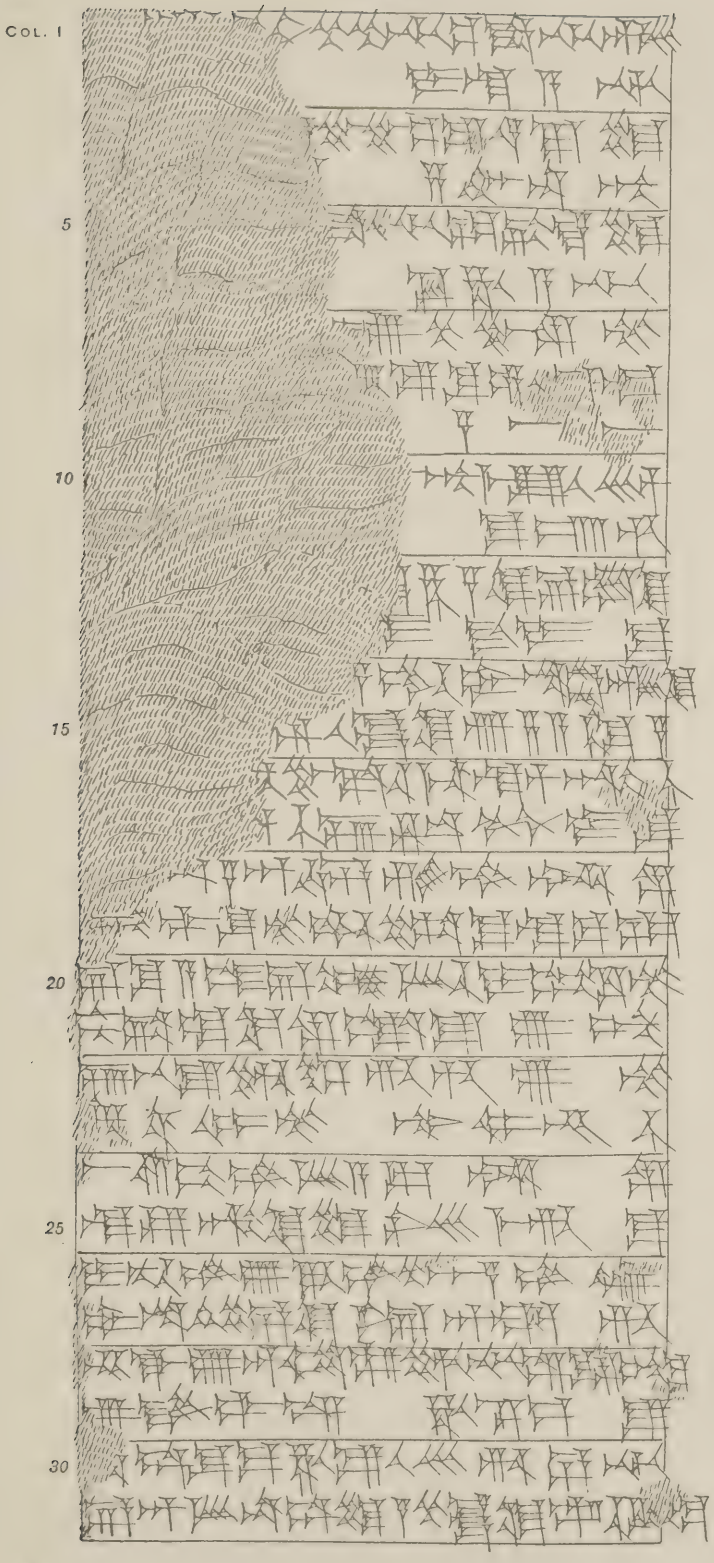

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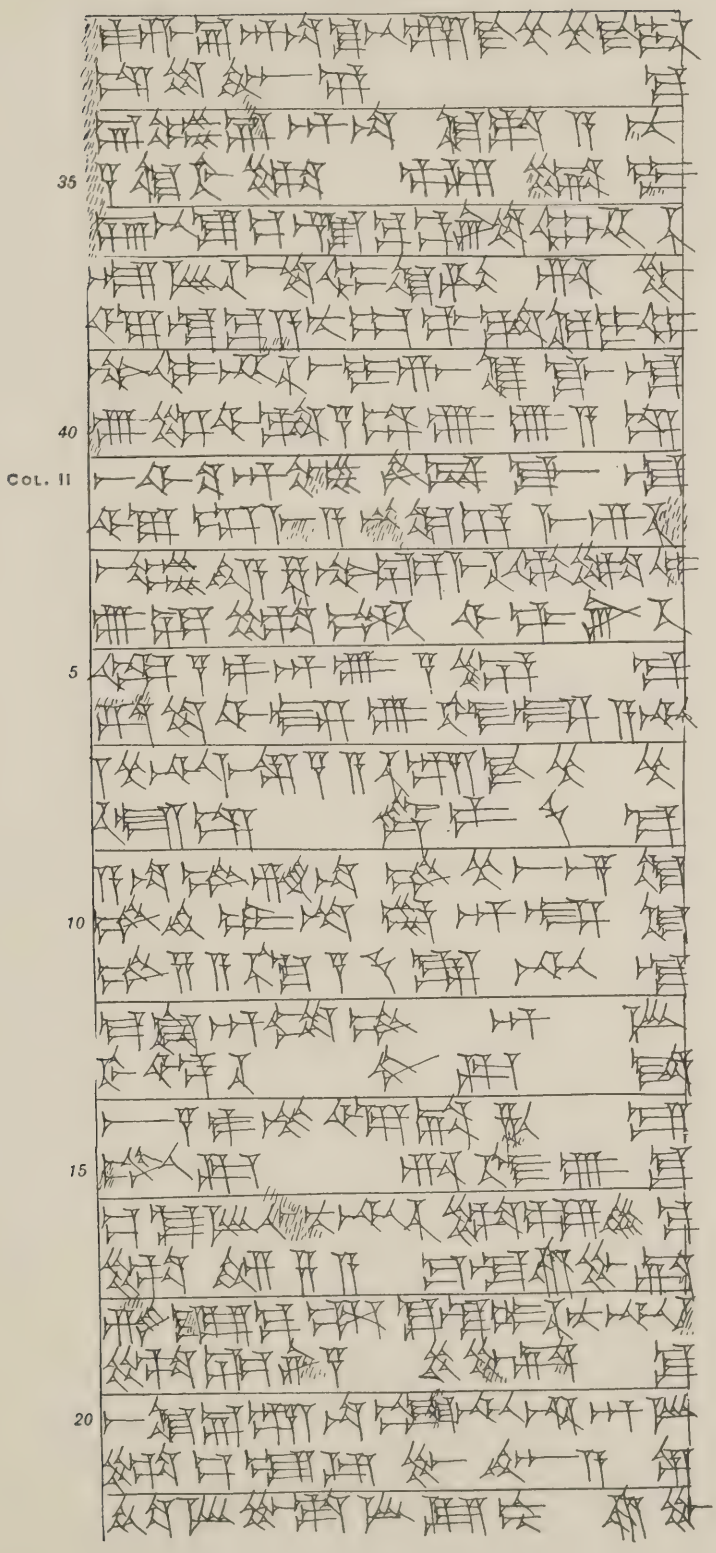

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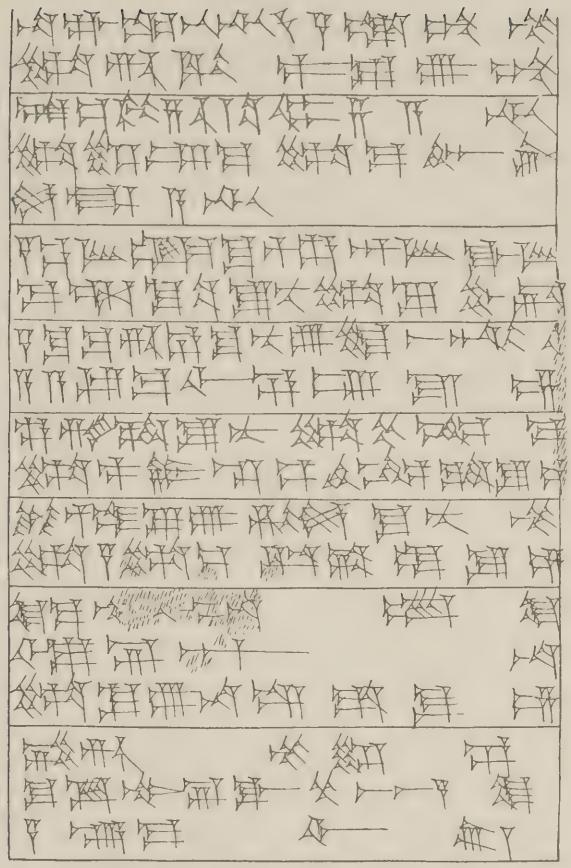

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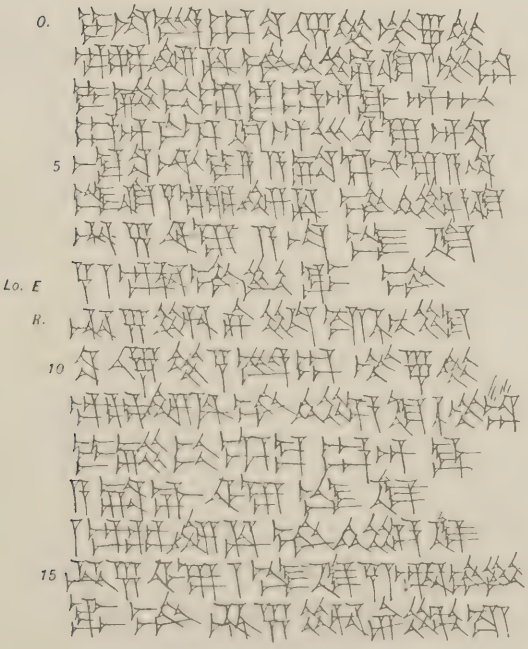

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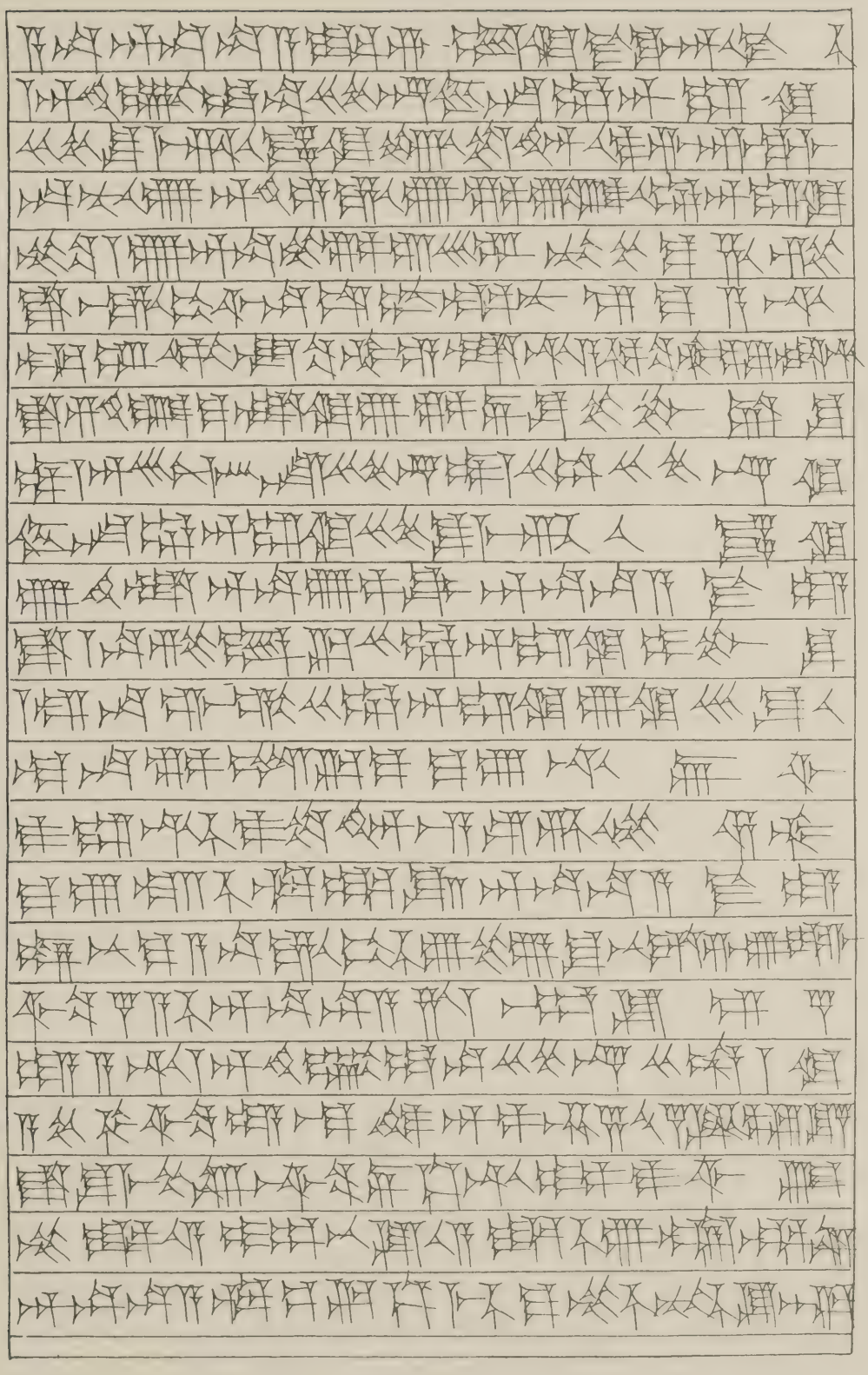

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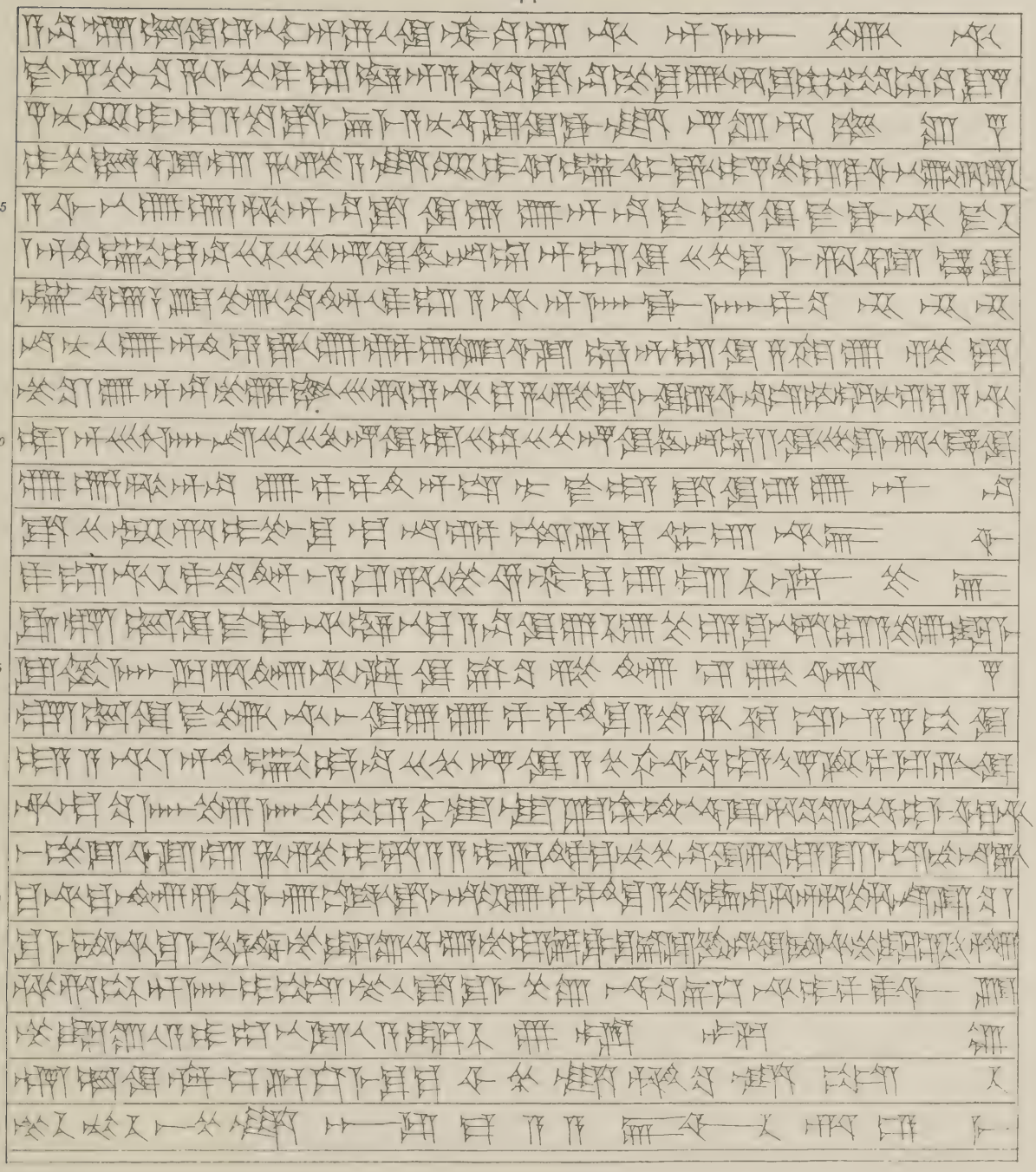

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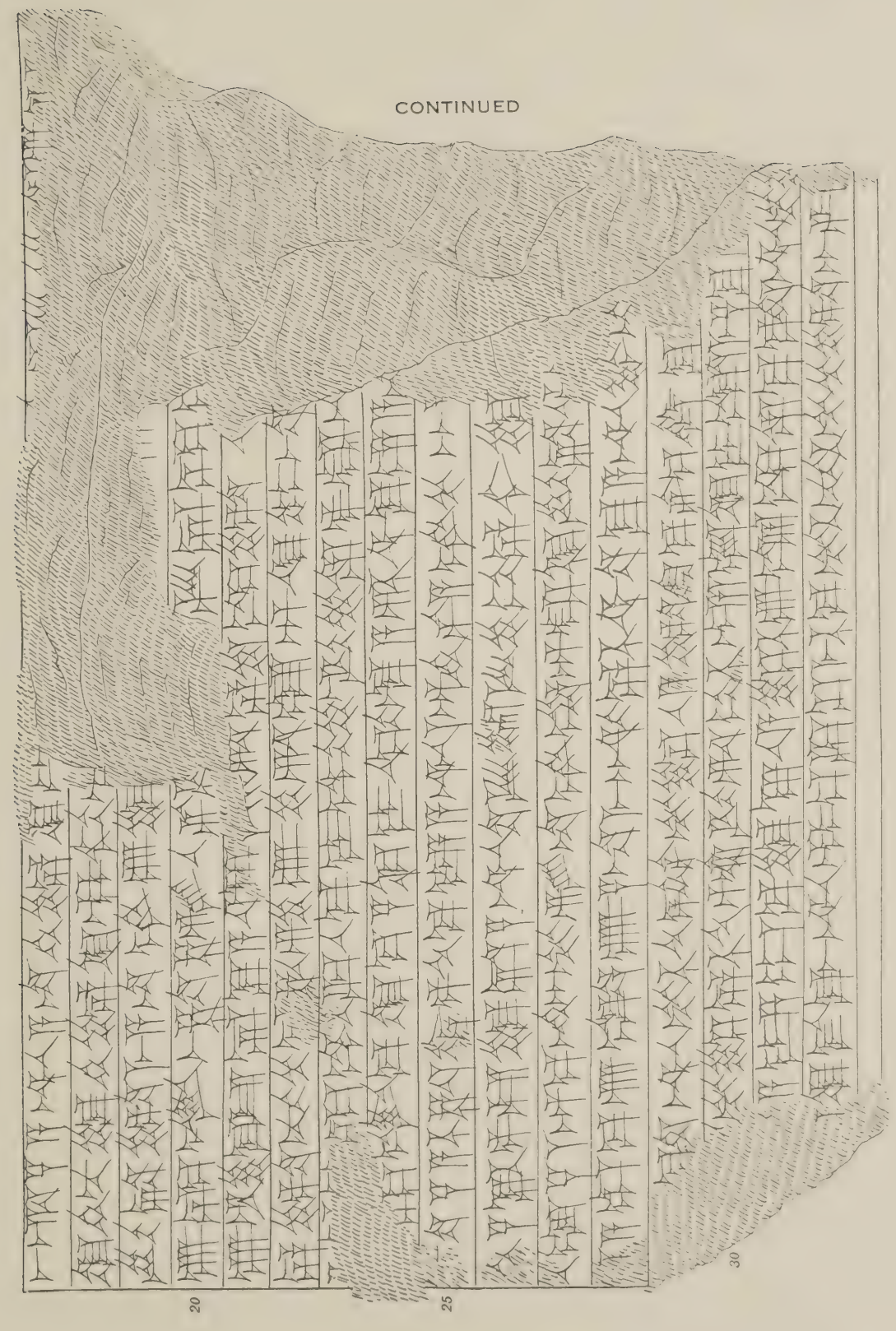

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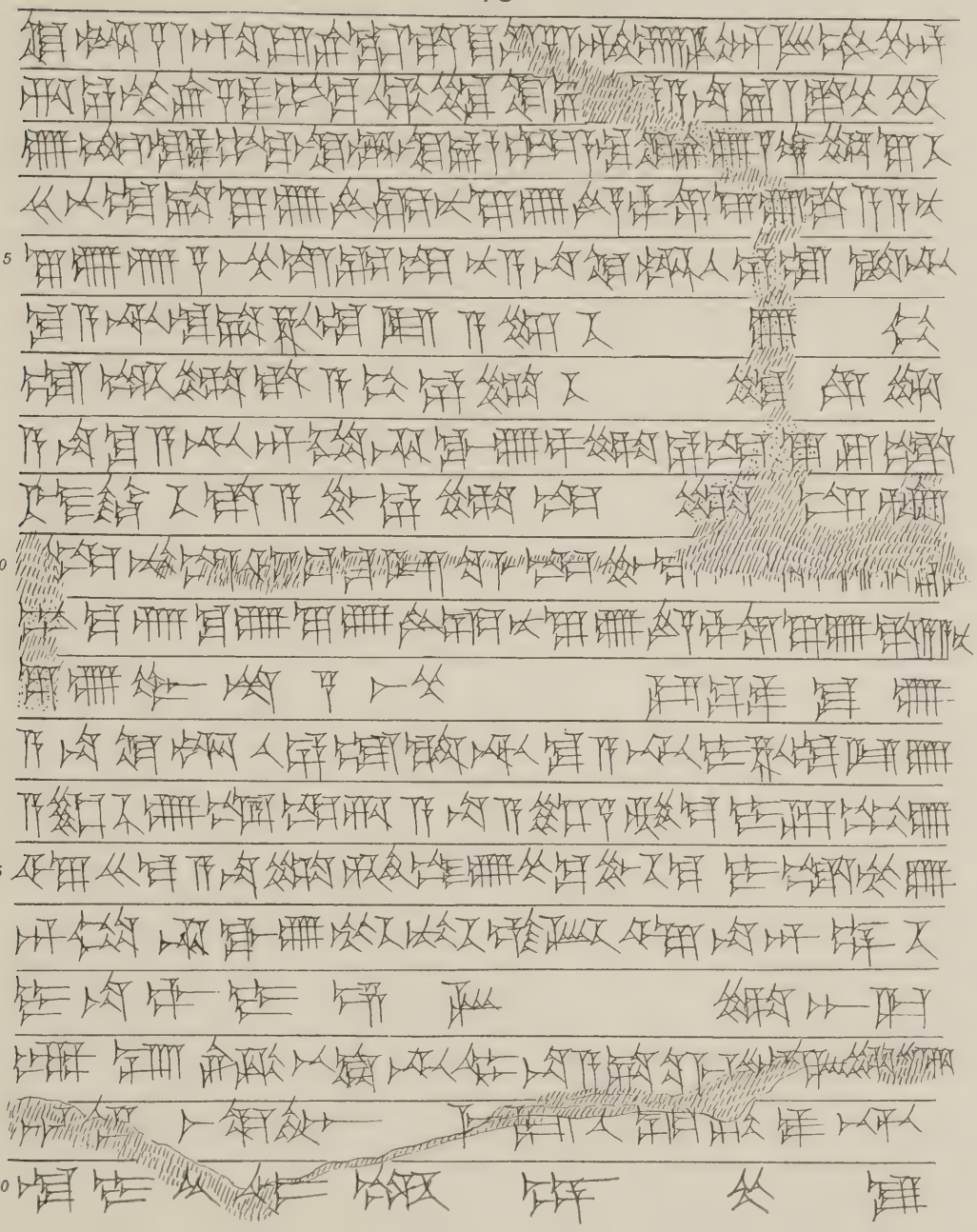

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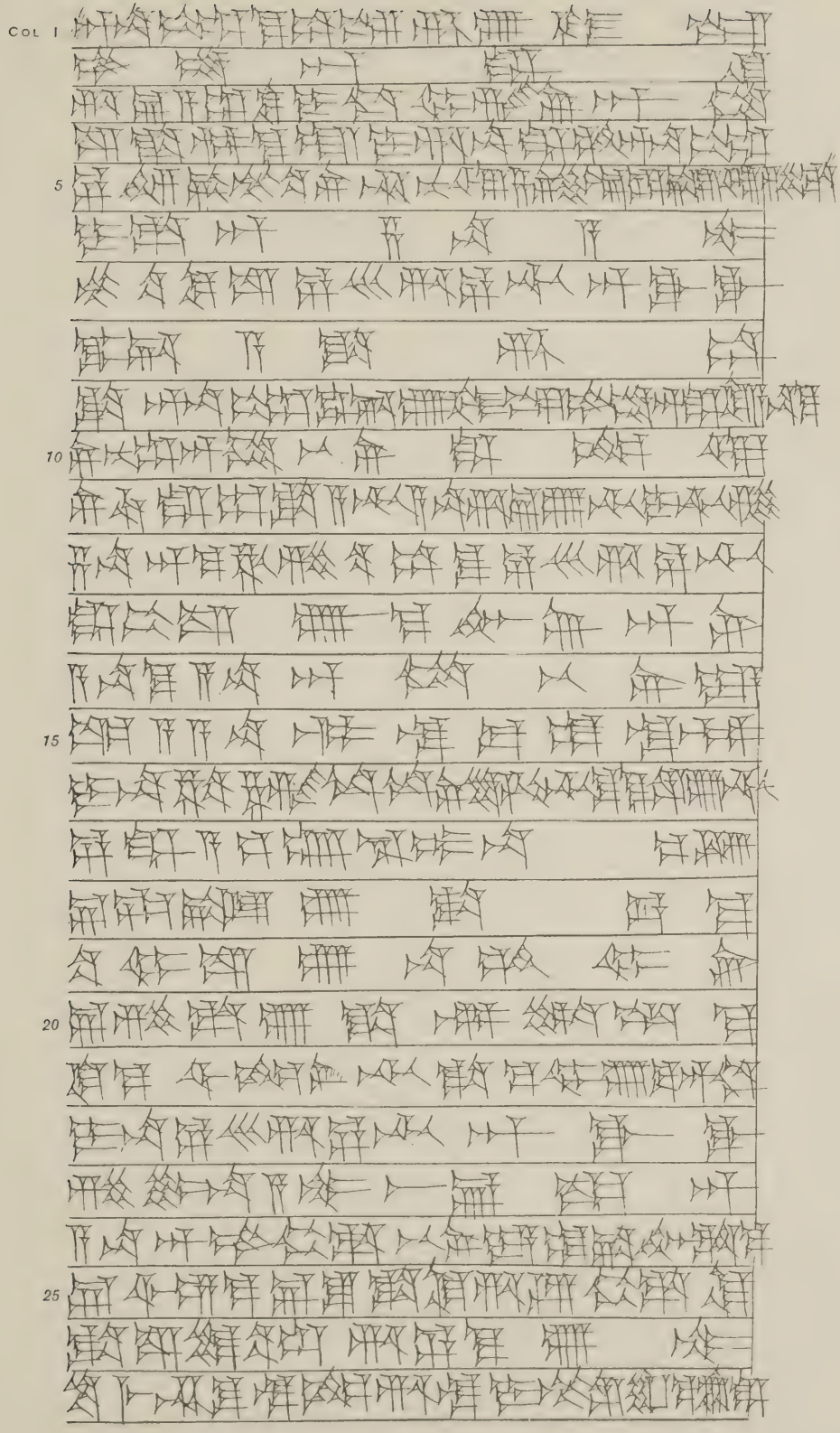
COL I



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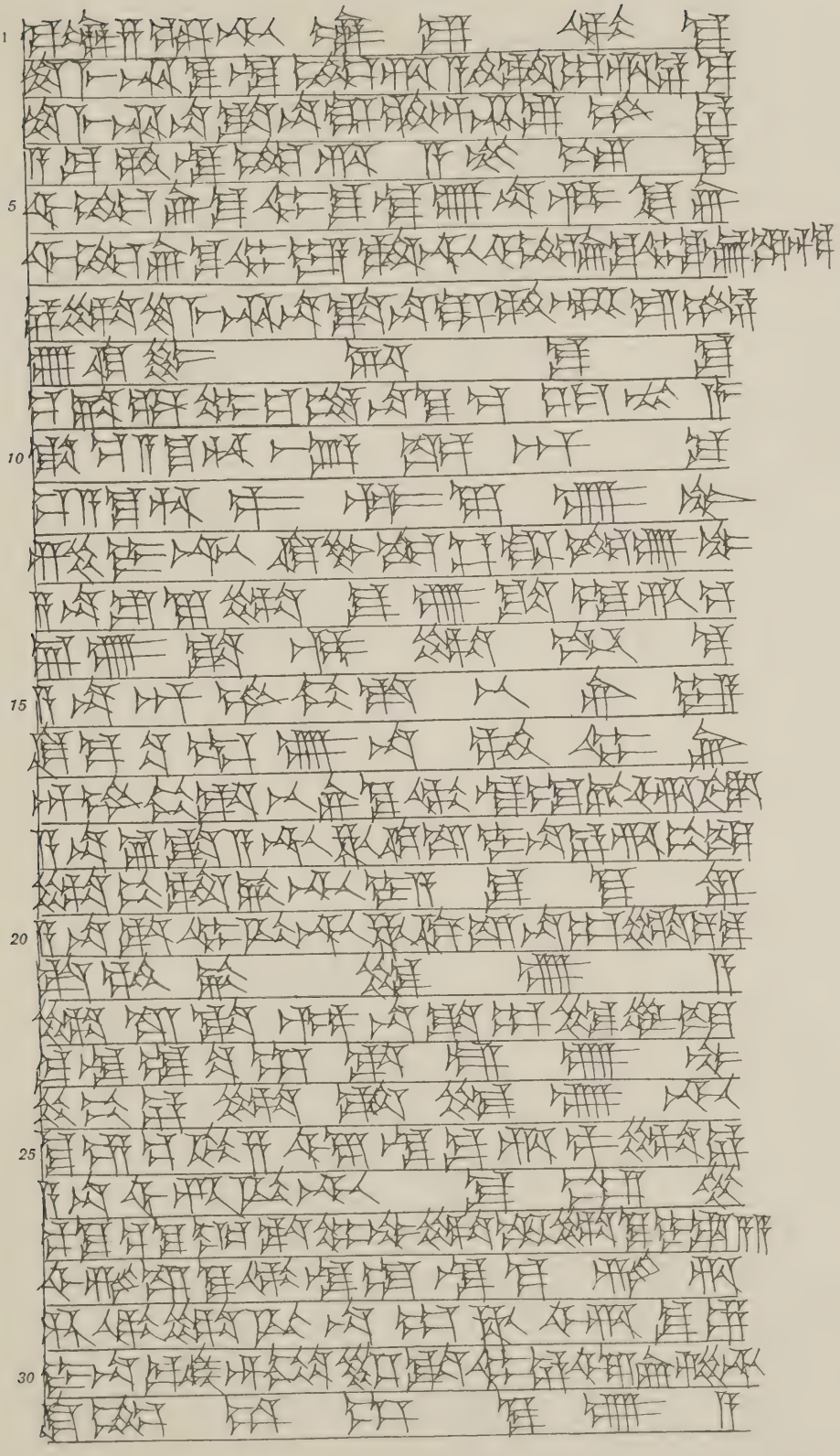
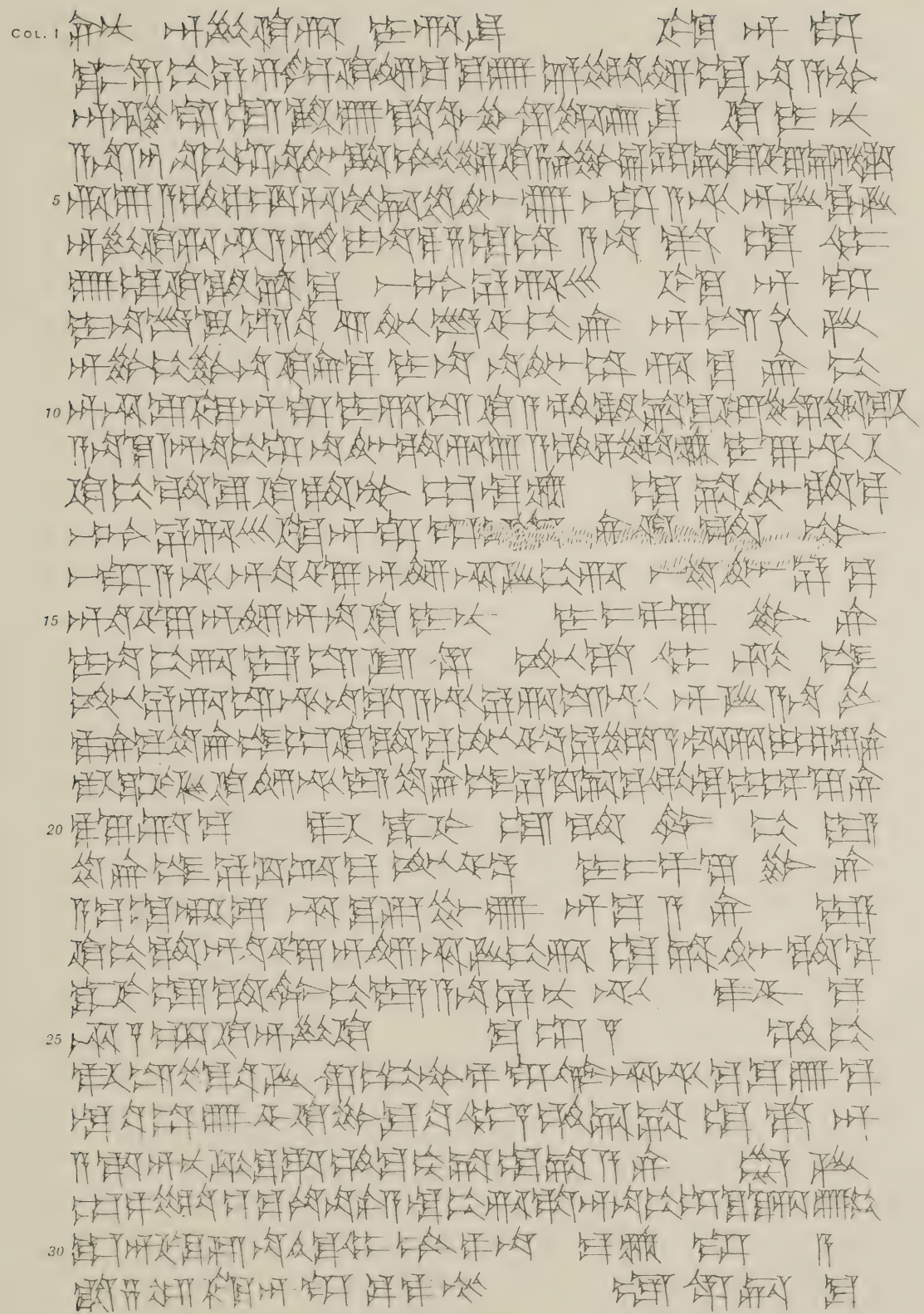
Col. II

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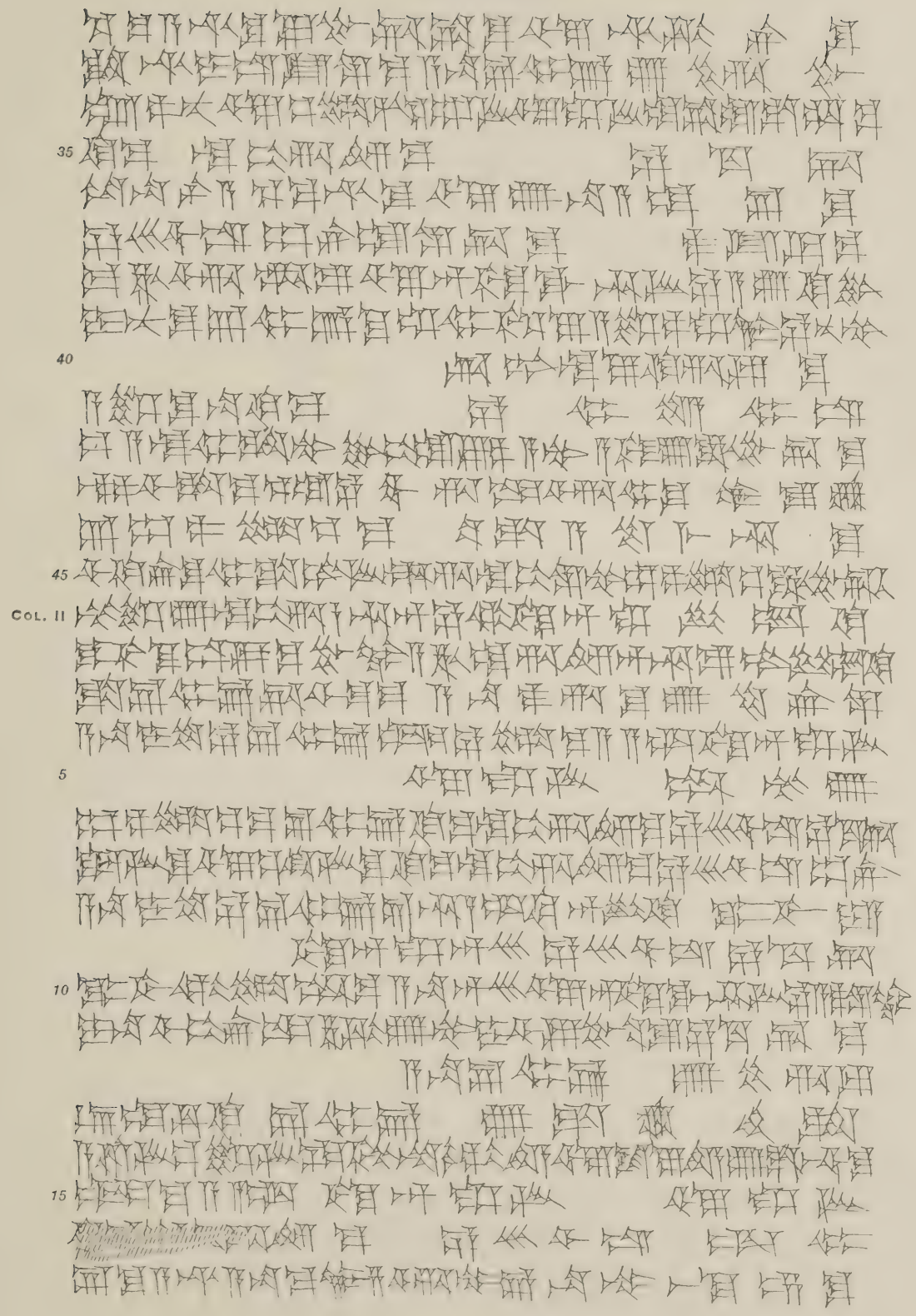

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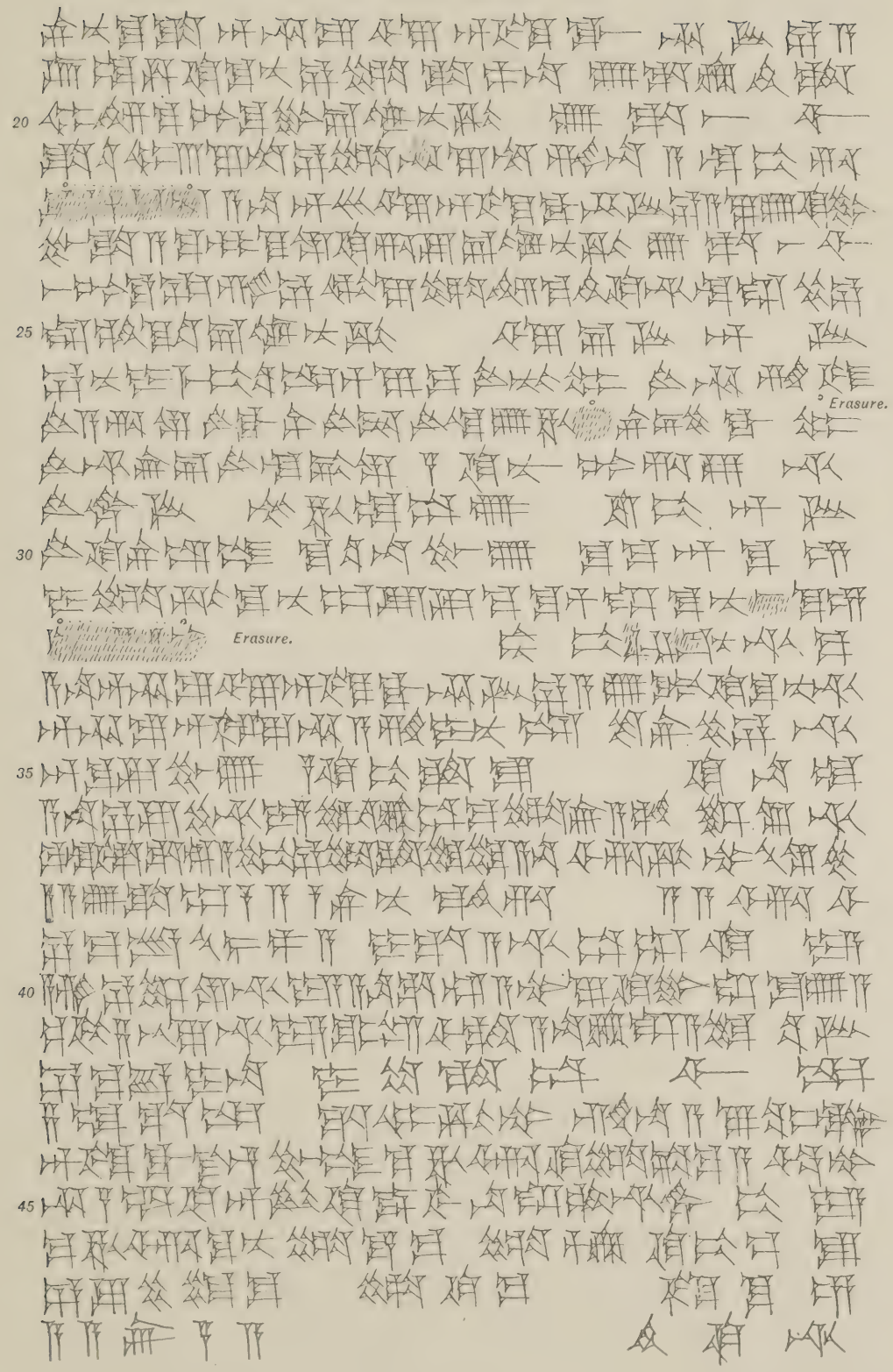

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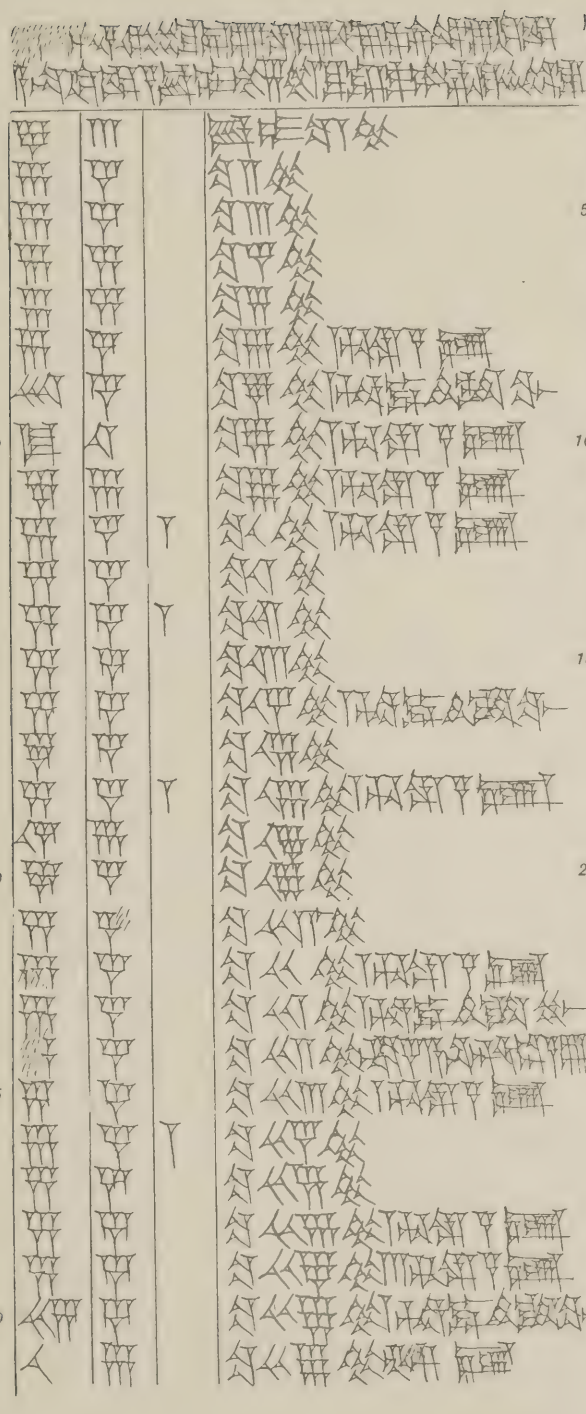
46



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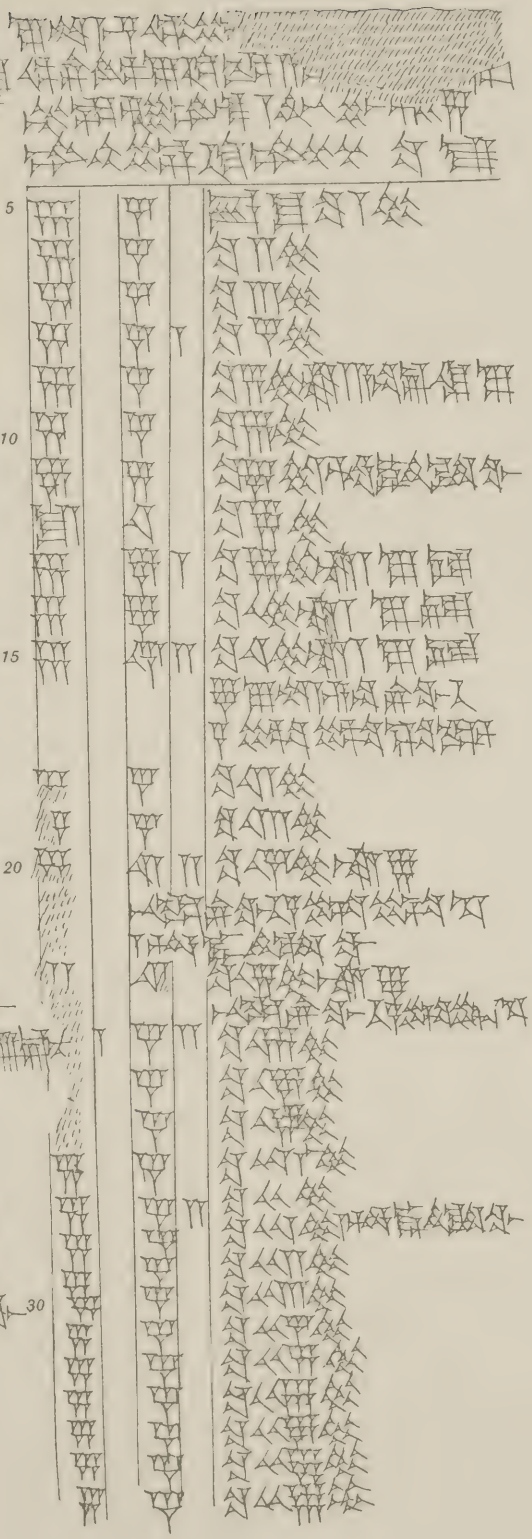

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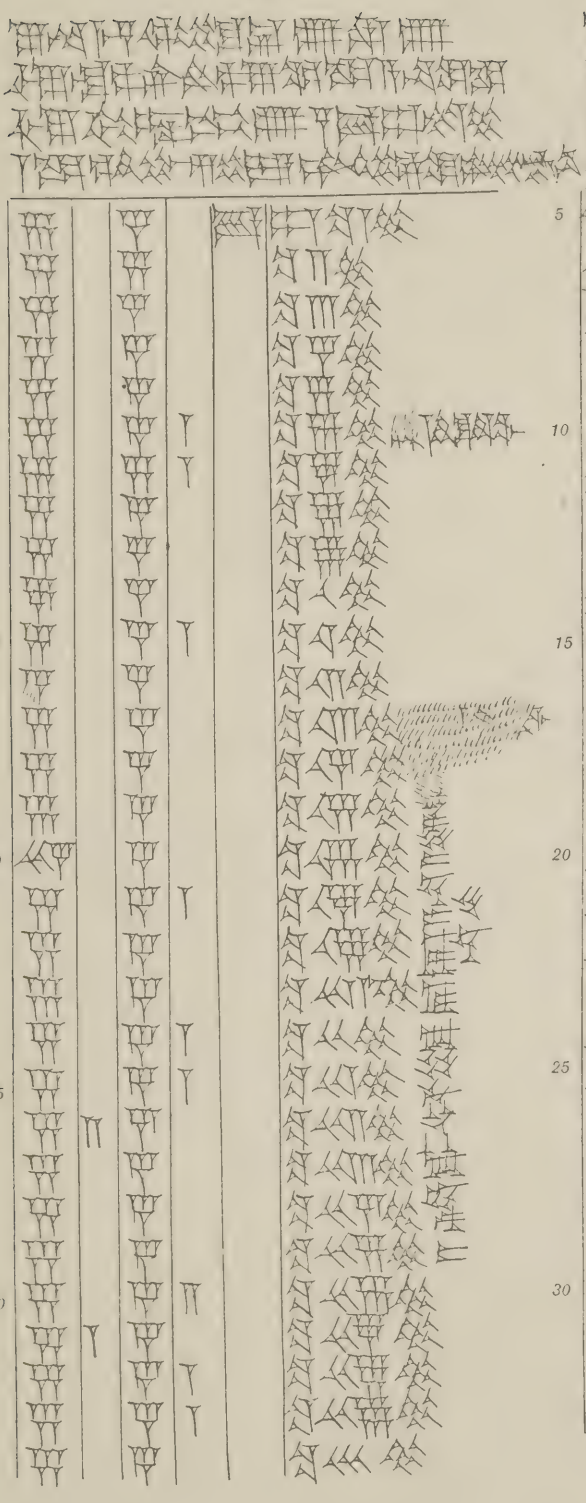

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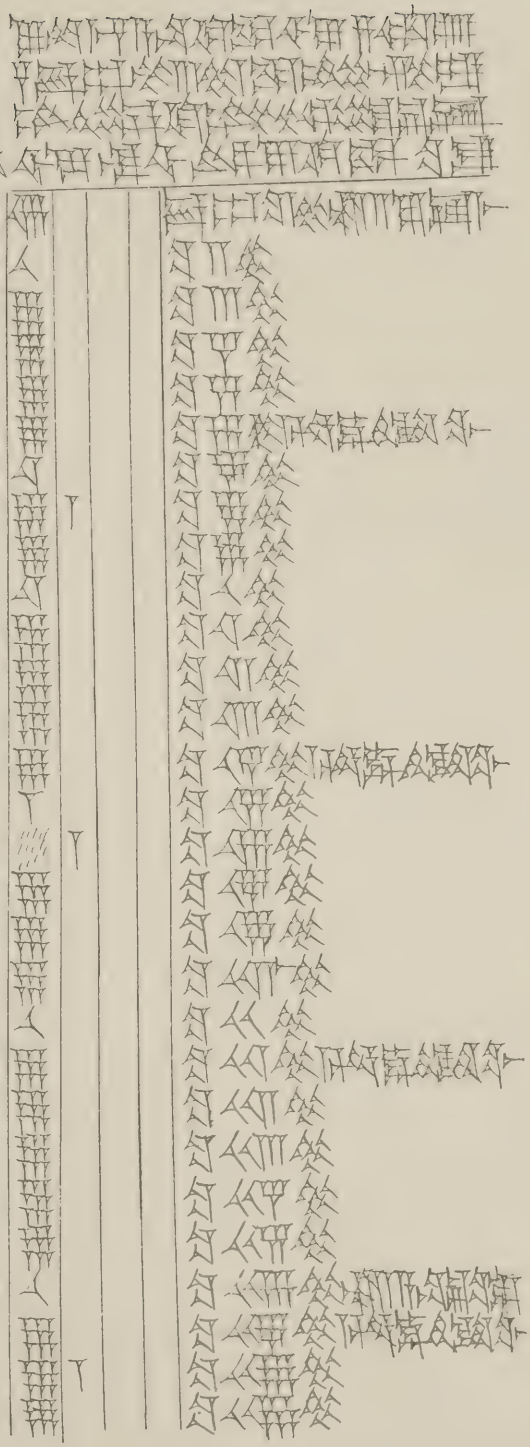

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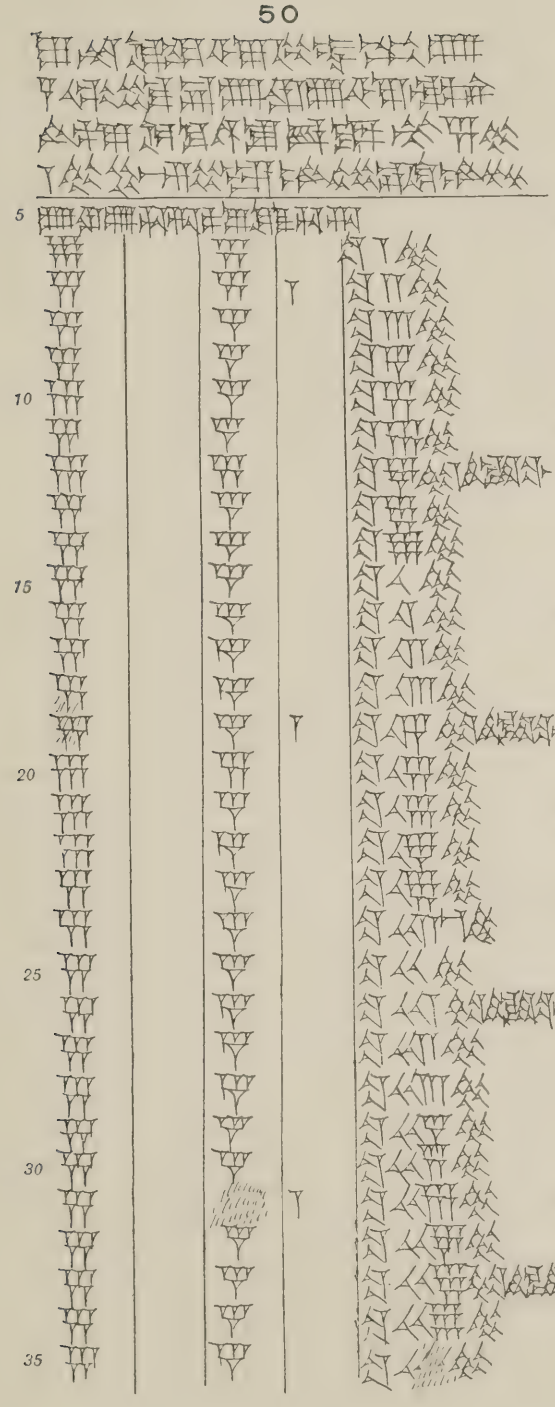

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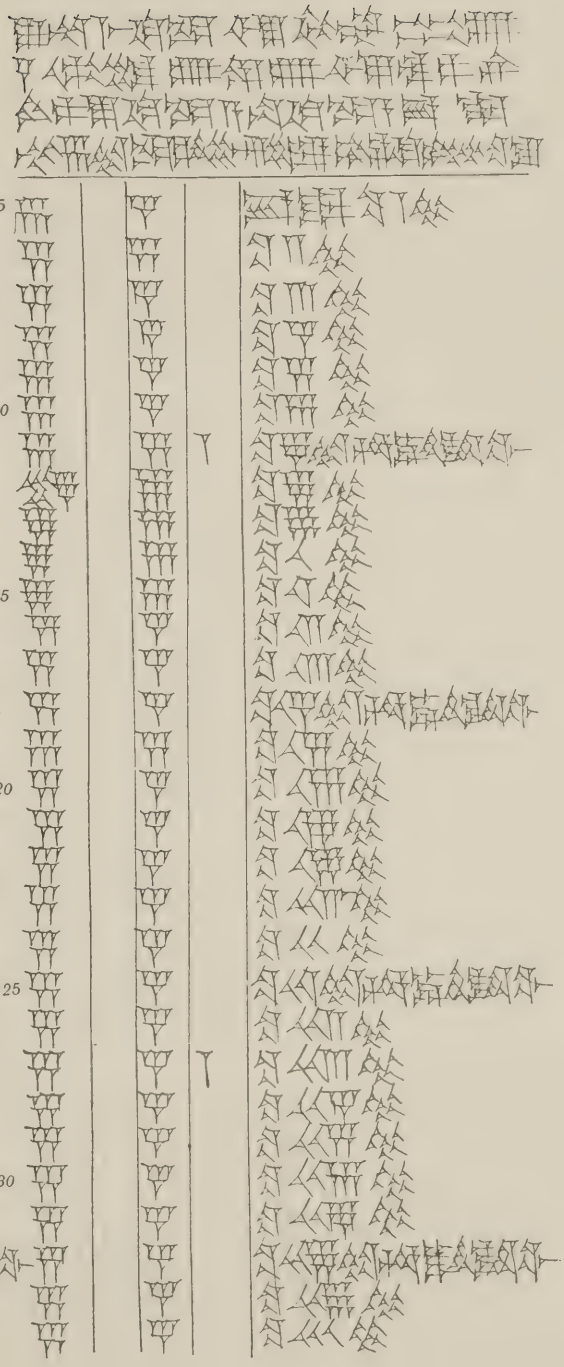

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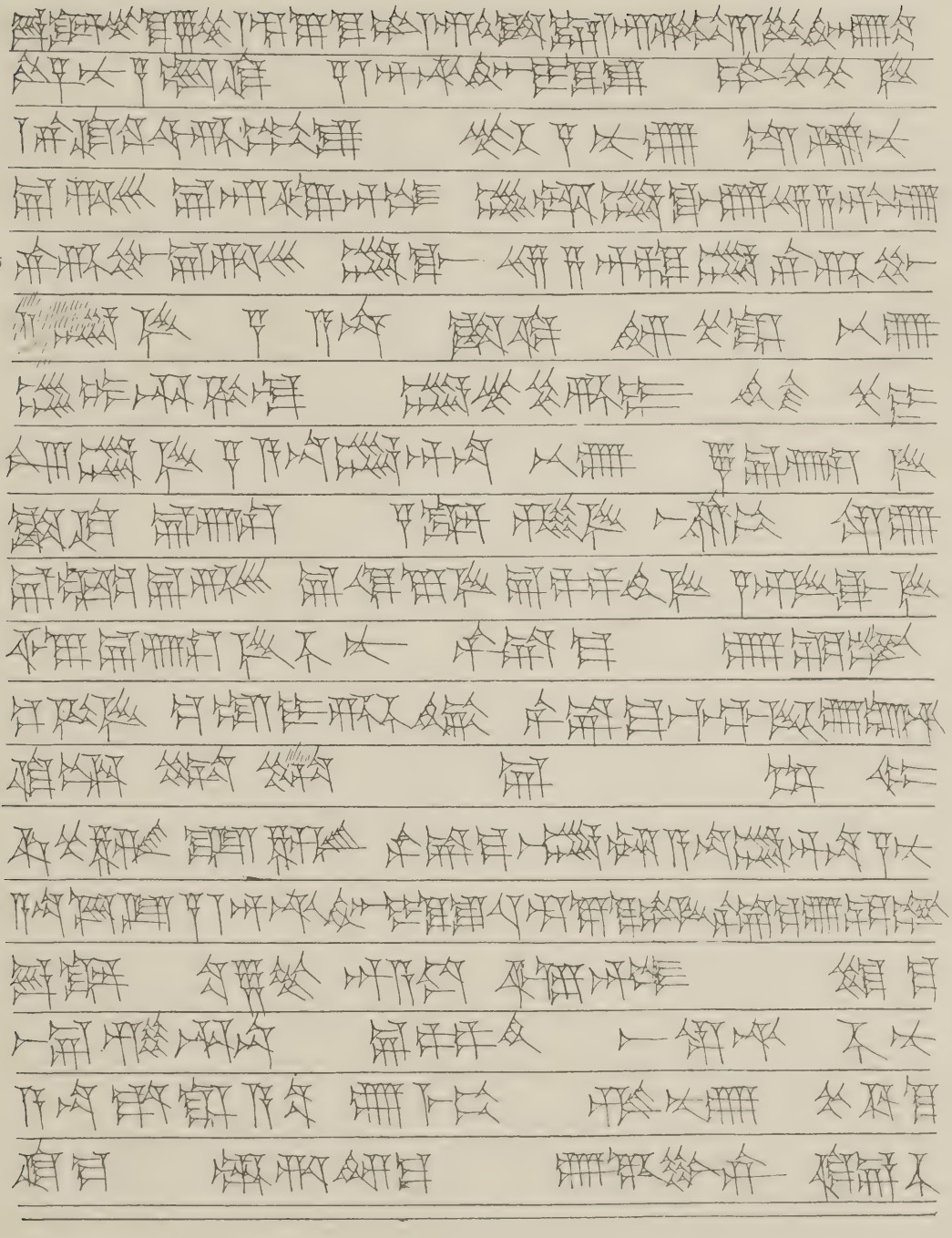

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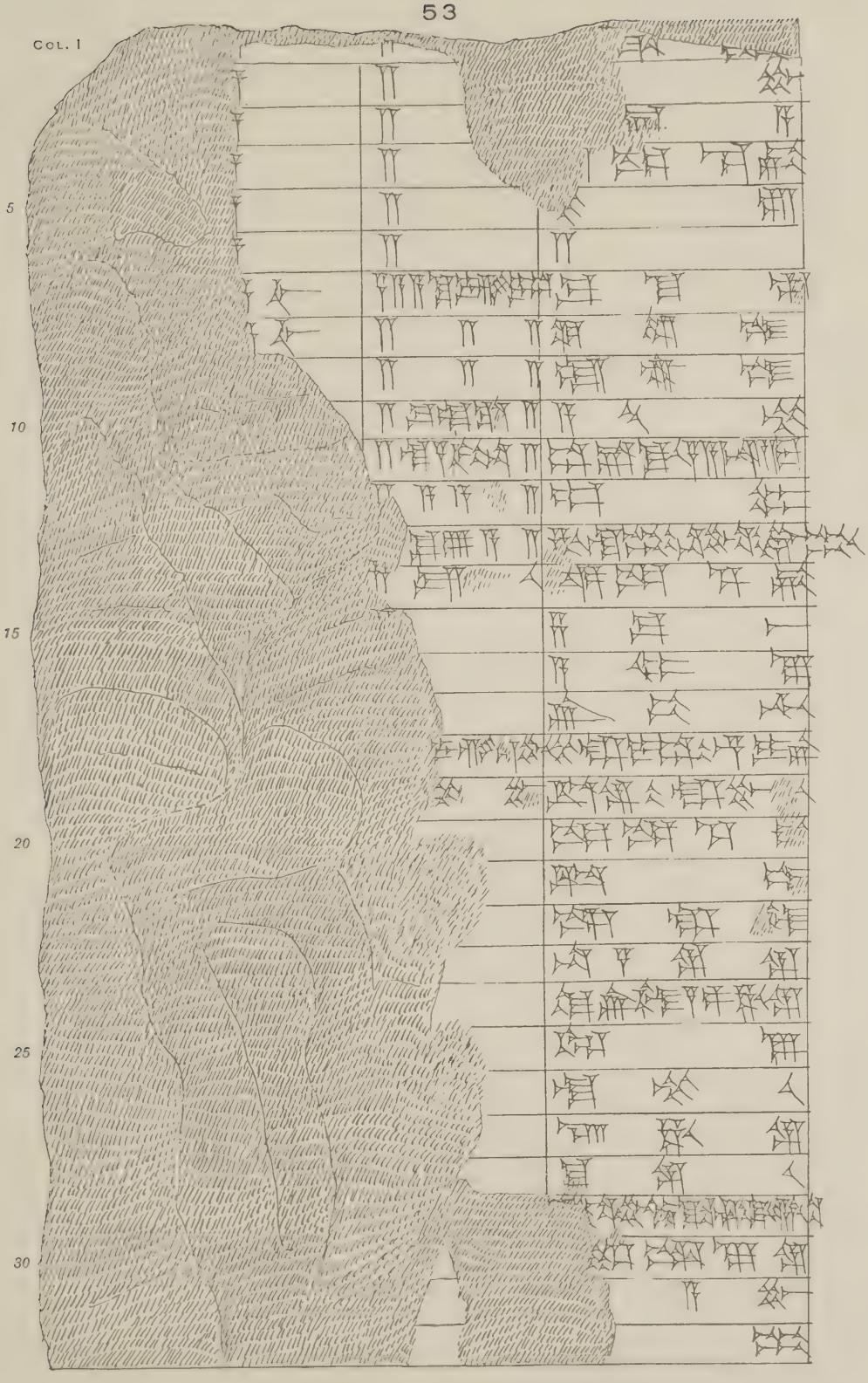

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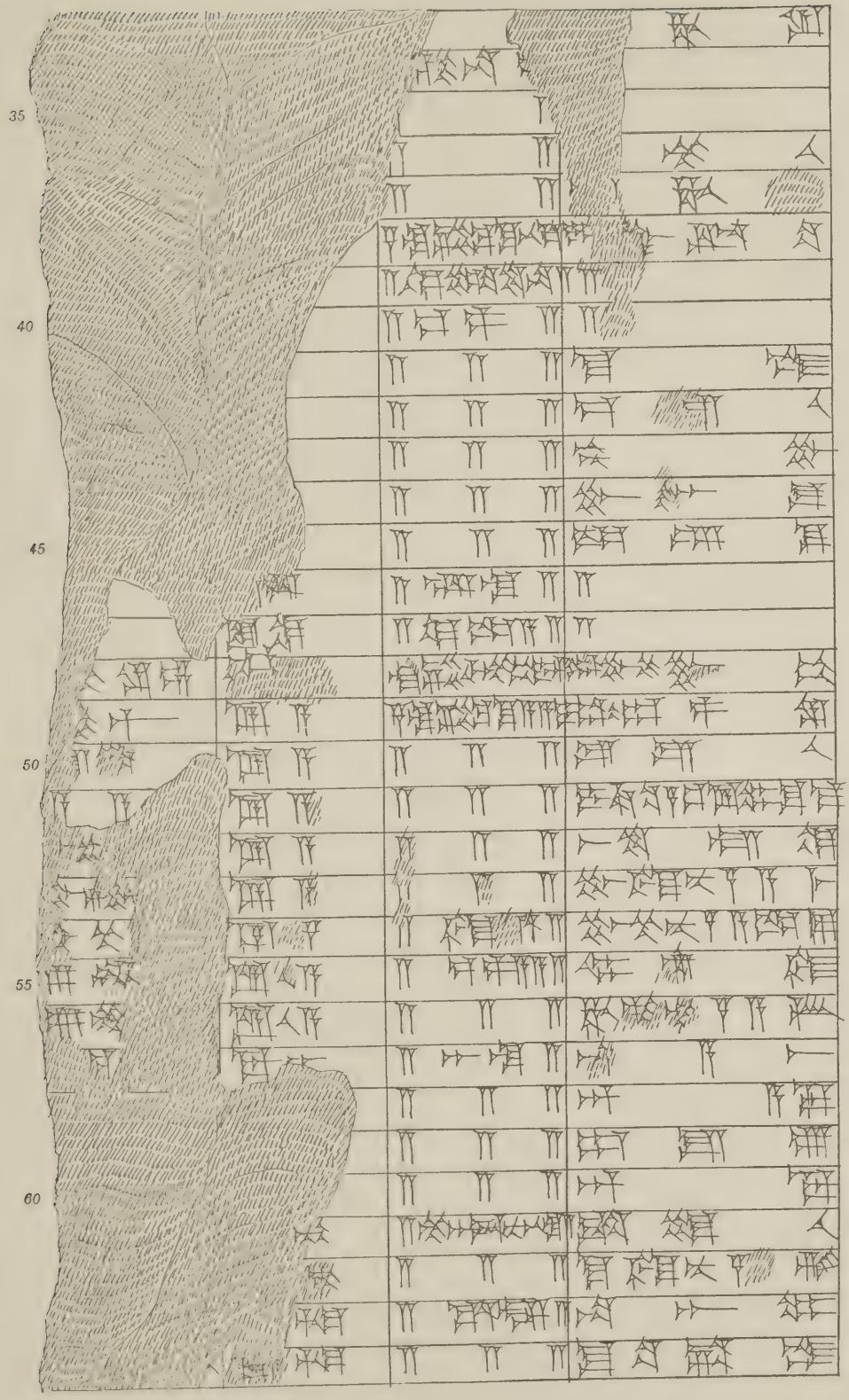

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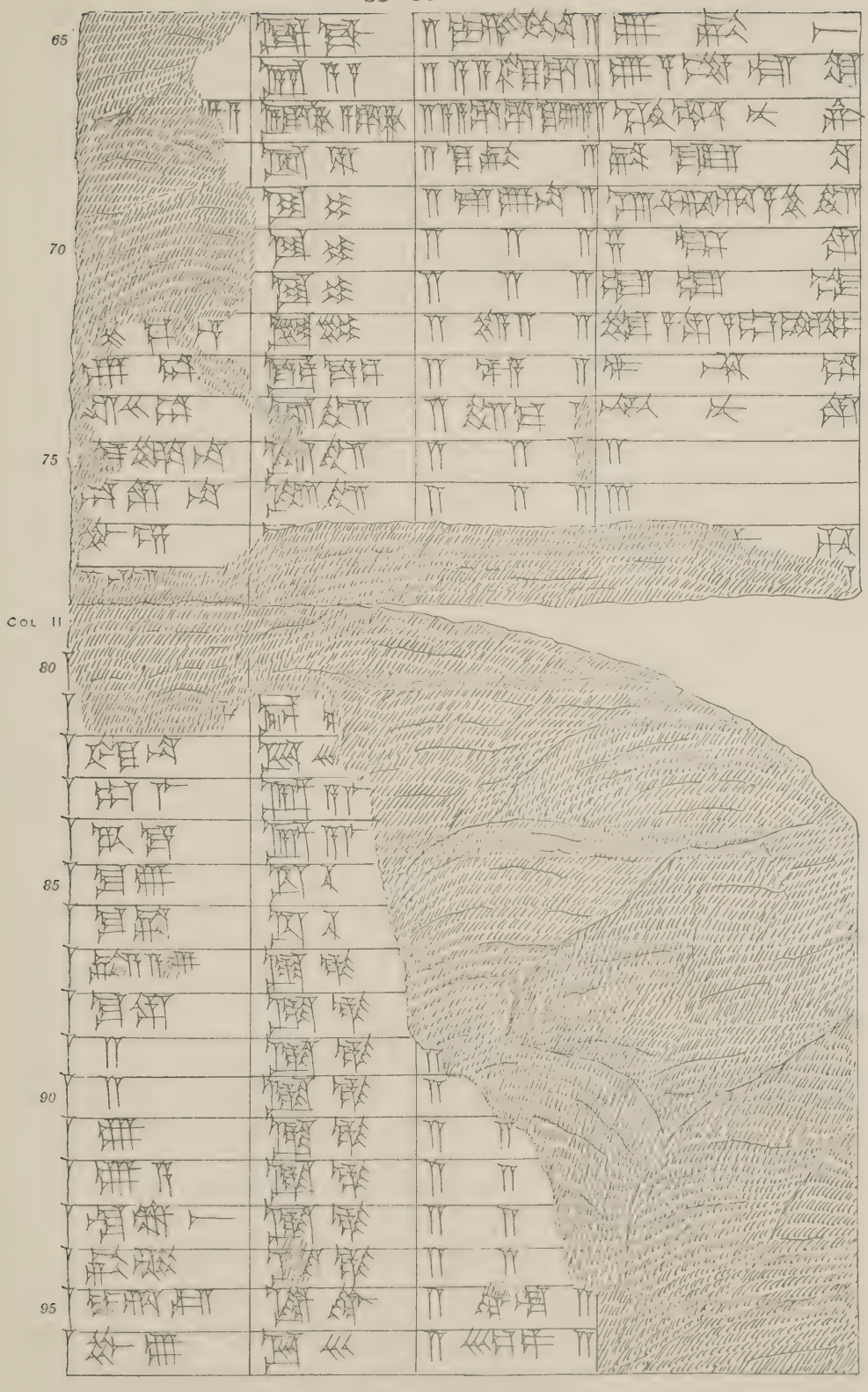

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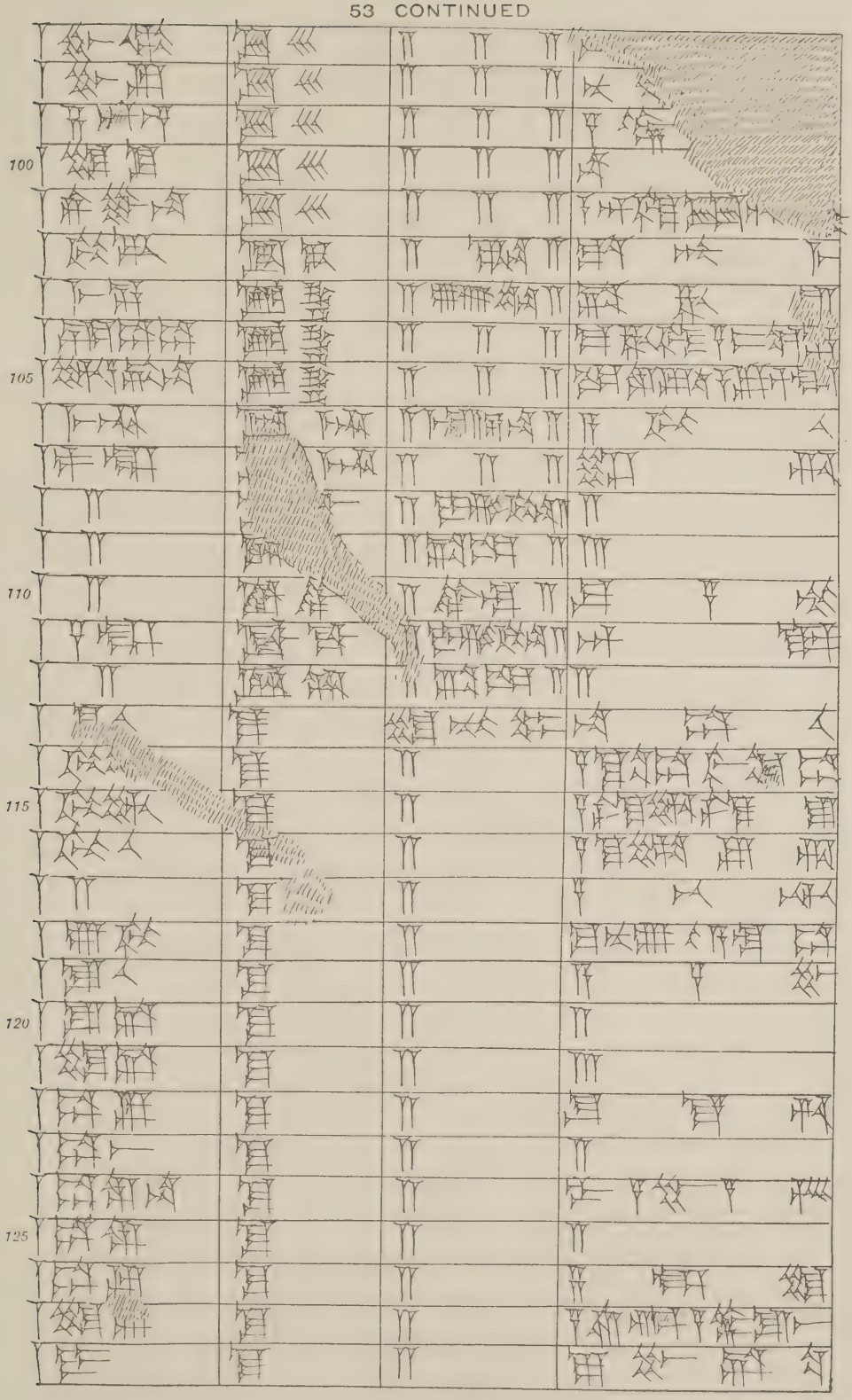

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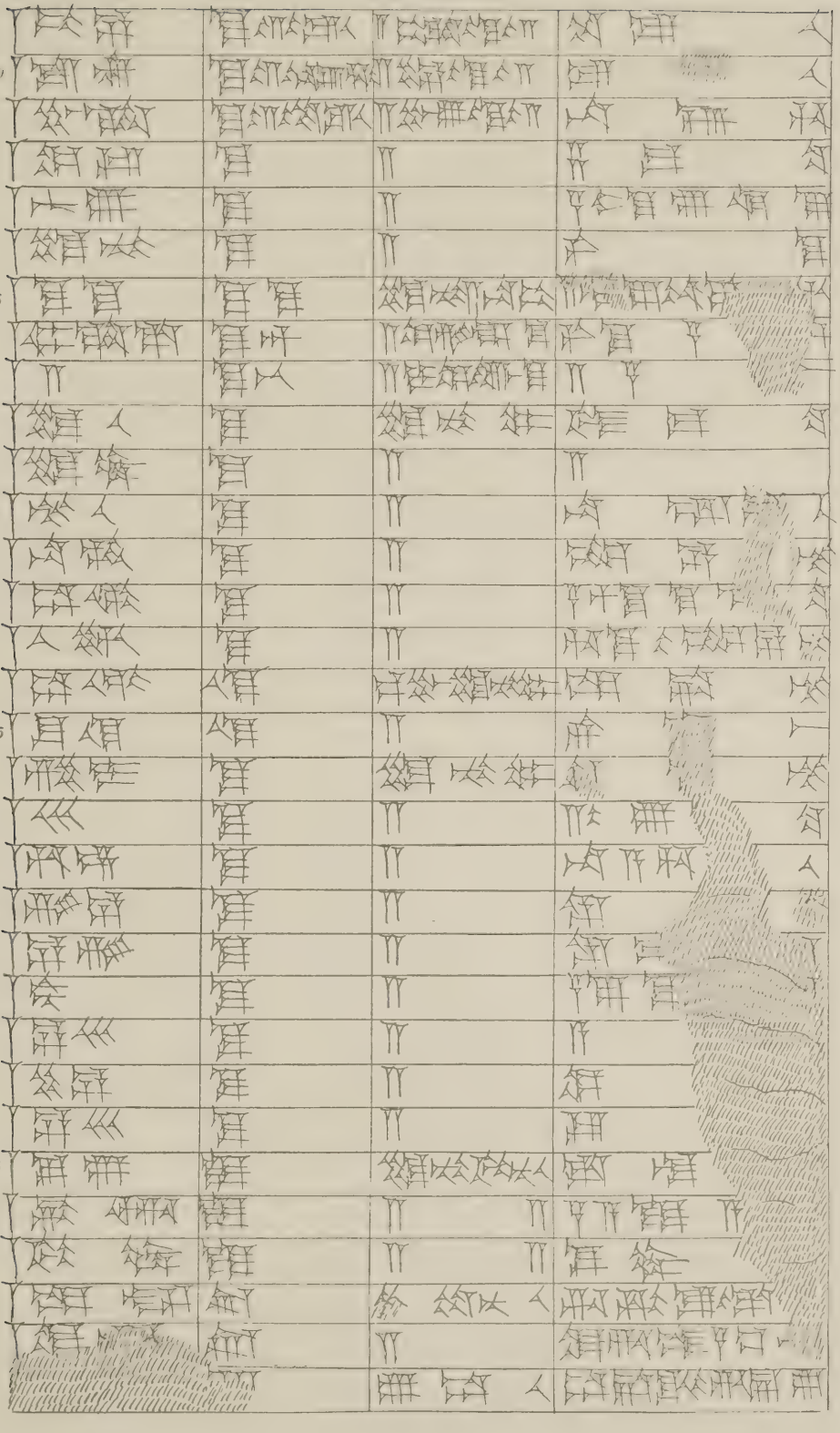

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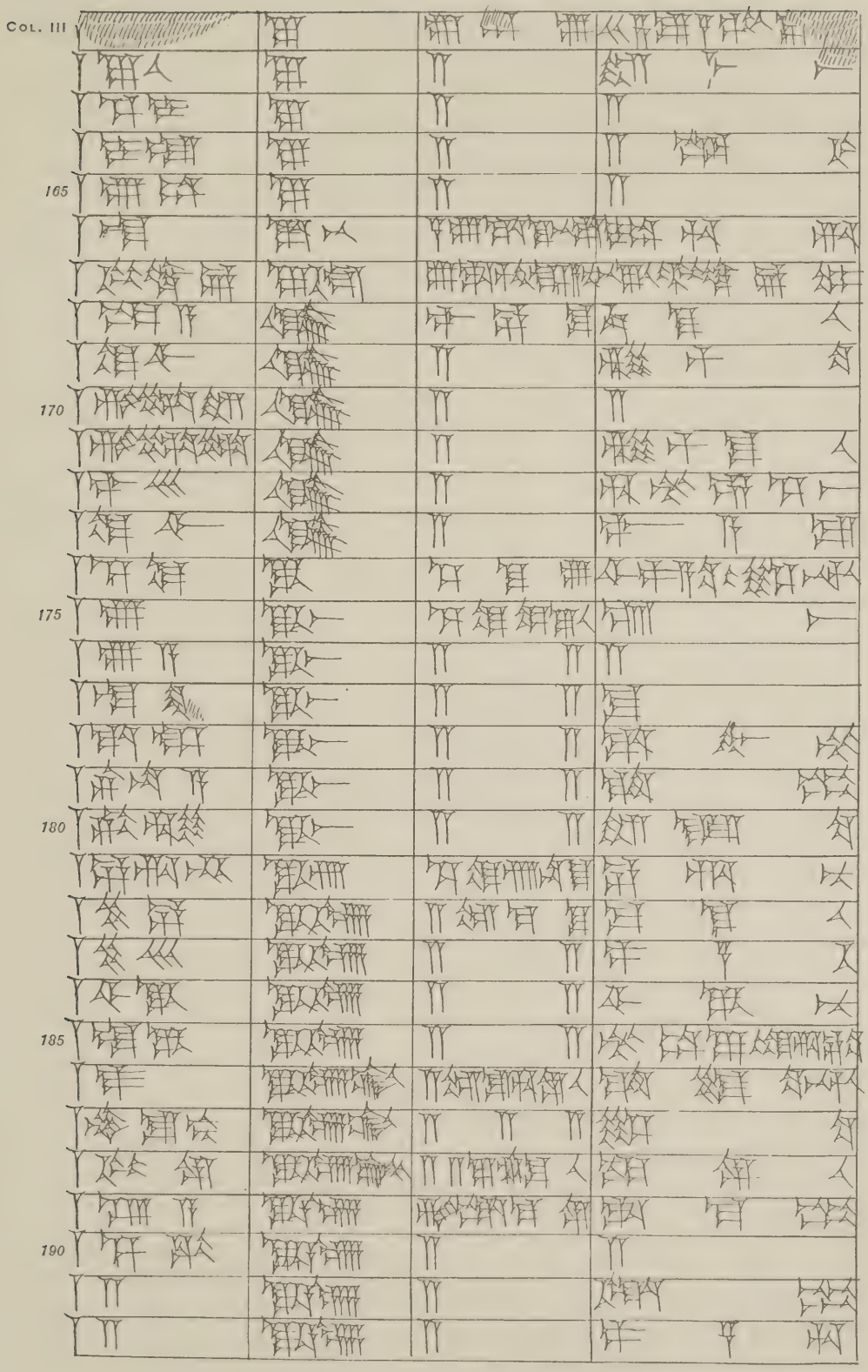

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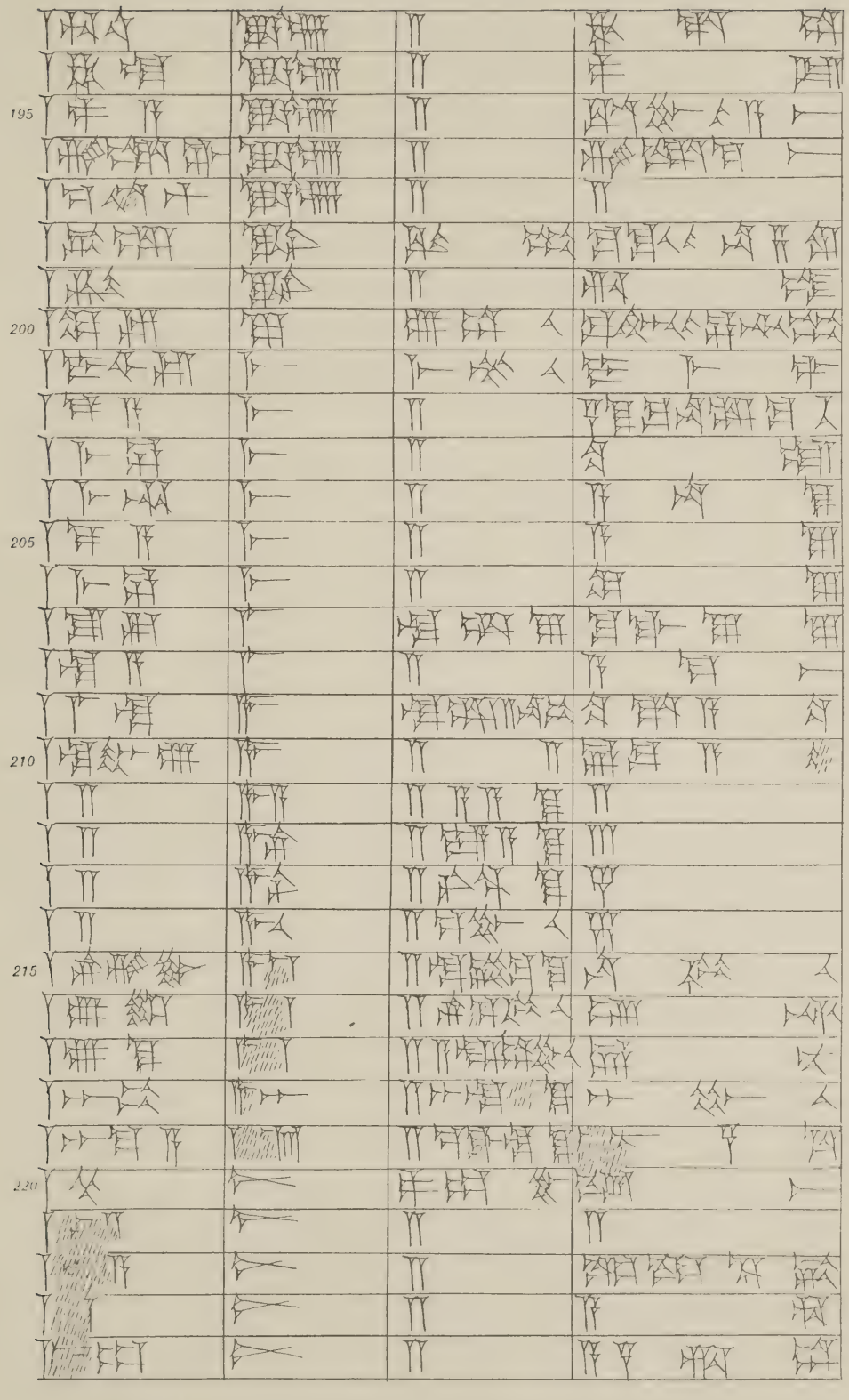

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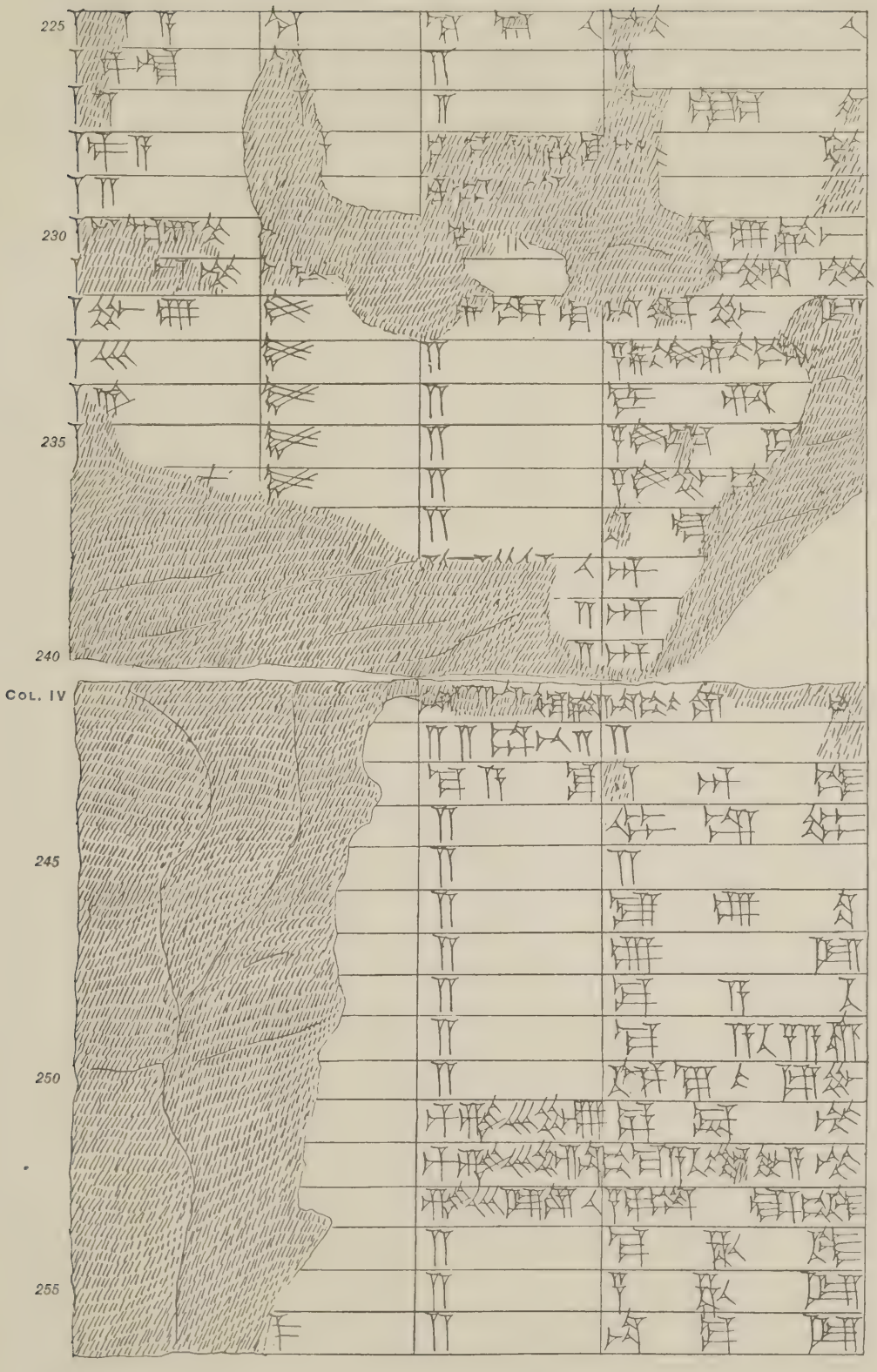

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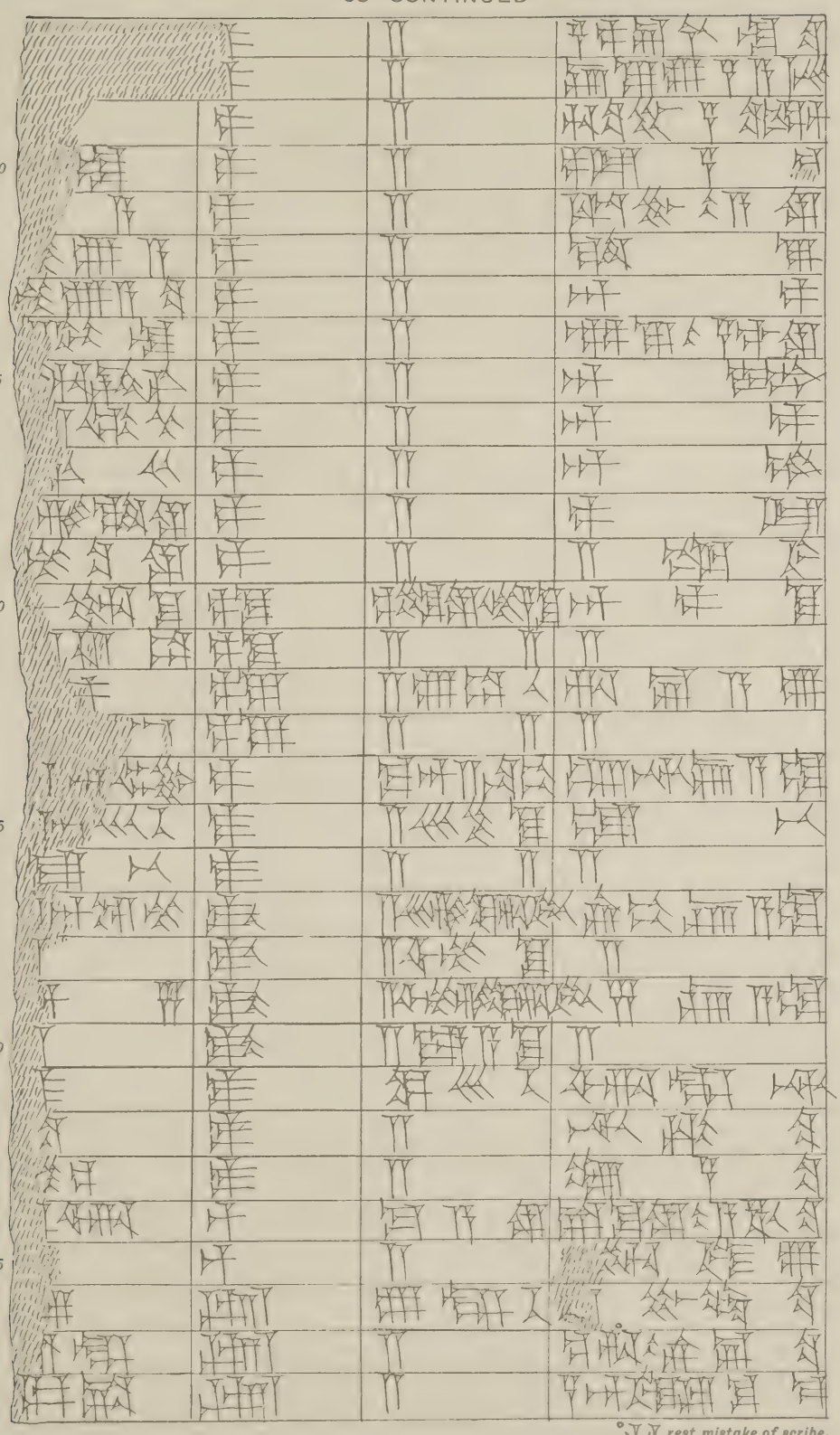
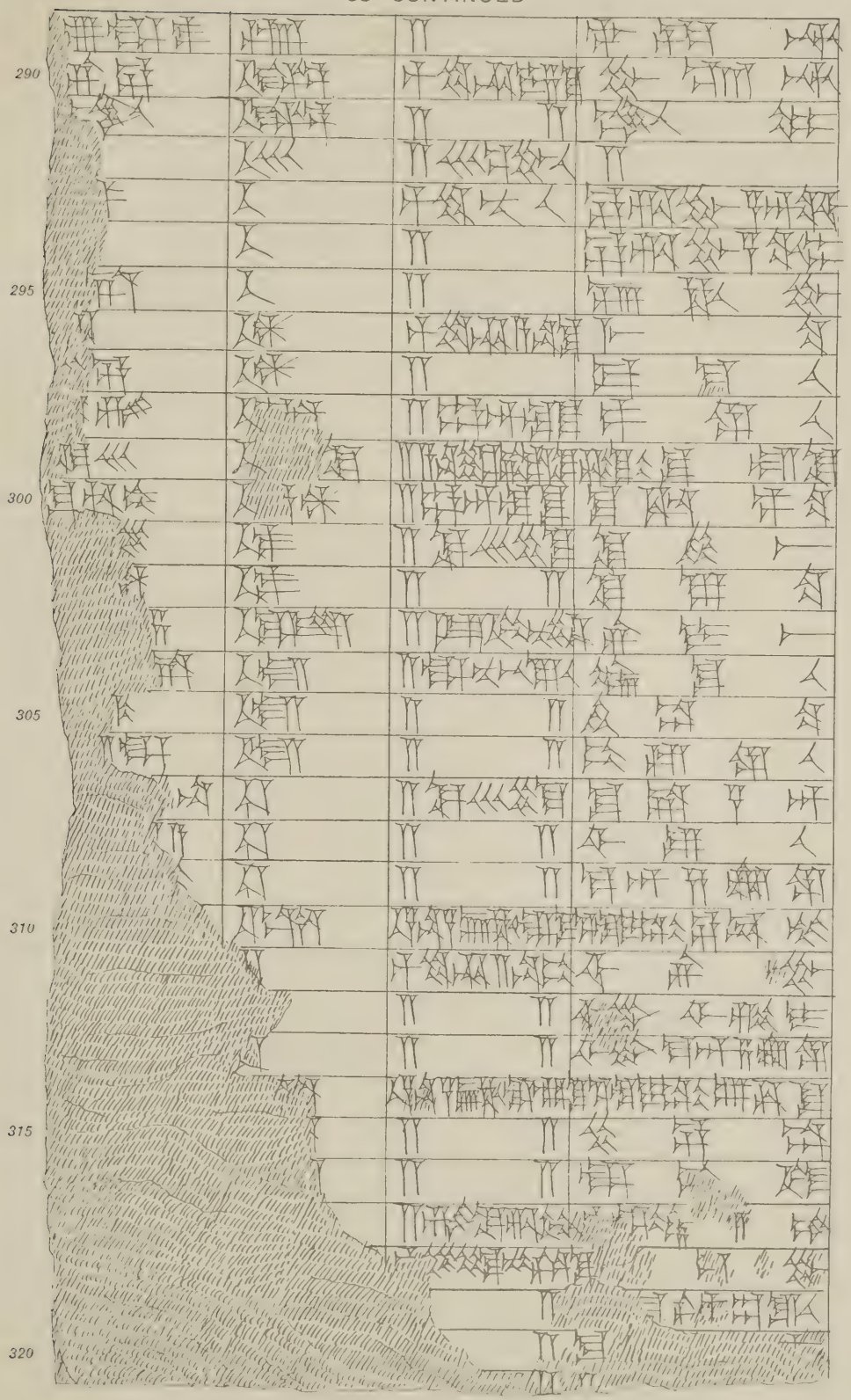


° rest mistake of scribe.

53 CONTINUED



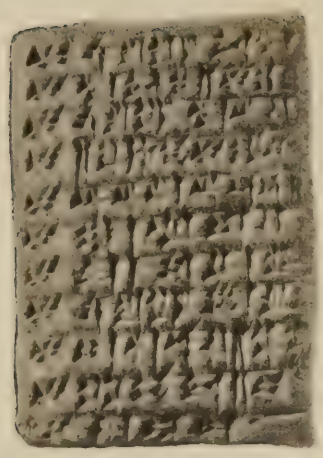
INSCRIPTION OF NARAM-SIN

(SEE TEXT NO. 10)

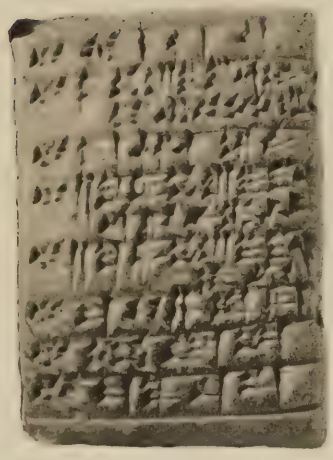
THE ANCIENT SUMERIAN LAWS

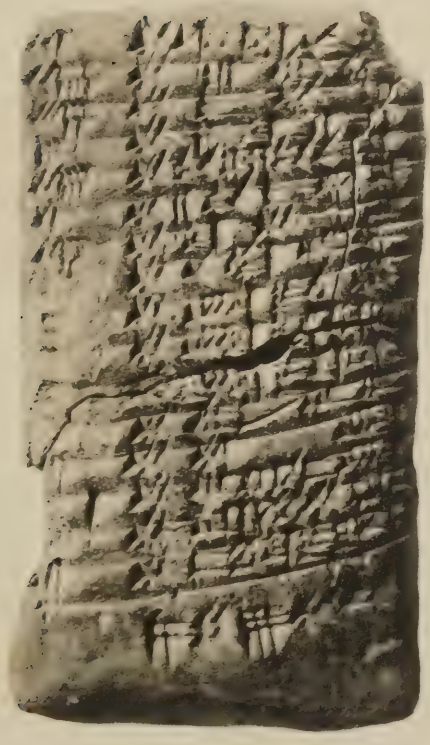
[TEXT NO. 28]

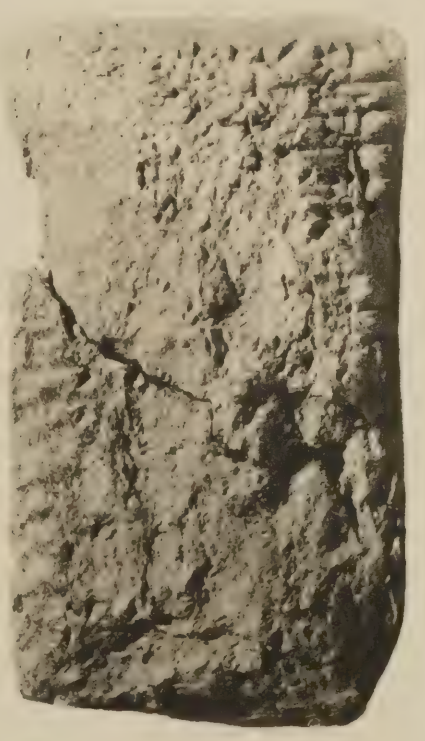
OBVERSE



REVERSE

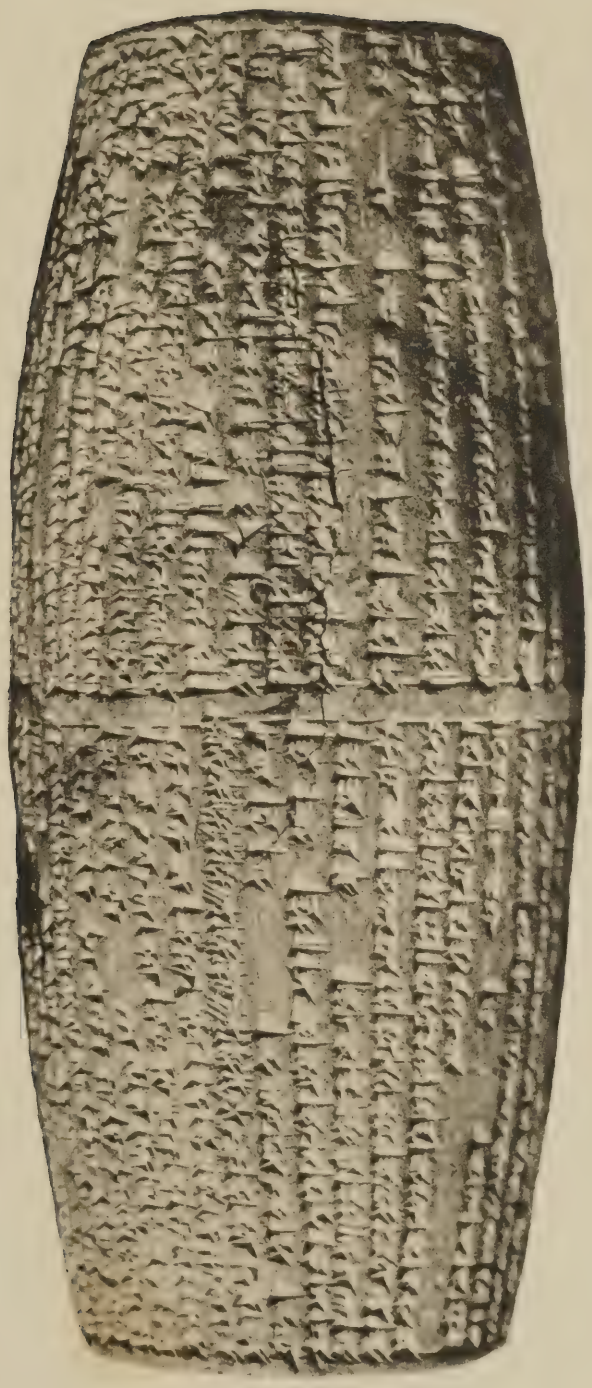






DATE LIST OF BABYLON'S RULE OVER LARSA (TEXT NO. 33)
THE LARSA DYNASTIC LIST (TEXT NO. 32)

TWO CYLINDERS OF ESARHADDON (TEXTS NOS. 41 & 42)
BUILDING INSCRIPTION OF SARGON (TEXT NO. 38)



THE CYLINDER OF NABONIDUS

(TEXT NO. 45)

THE YALE SYLLABARY

DATE DUE

JUN 15 1994

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